AKWESASNE NOTES

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

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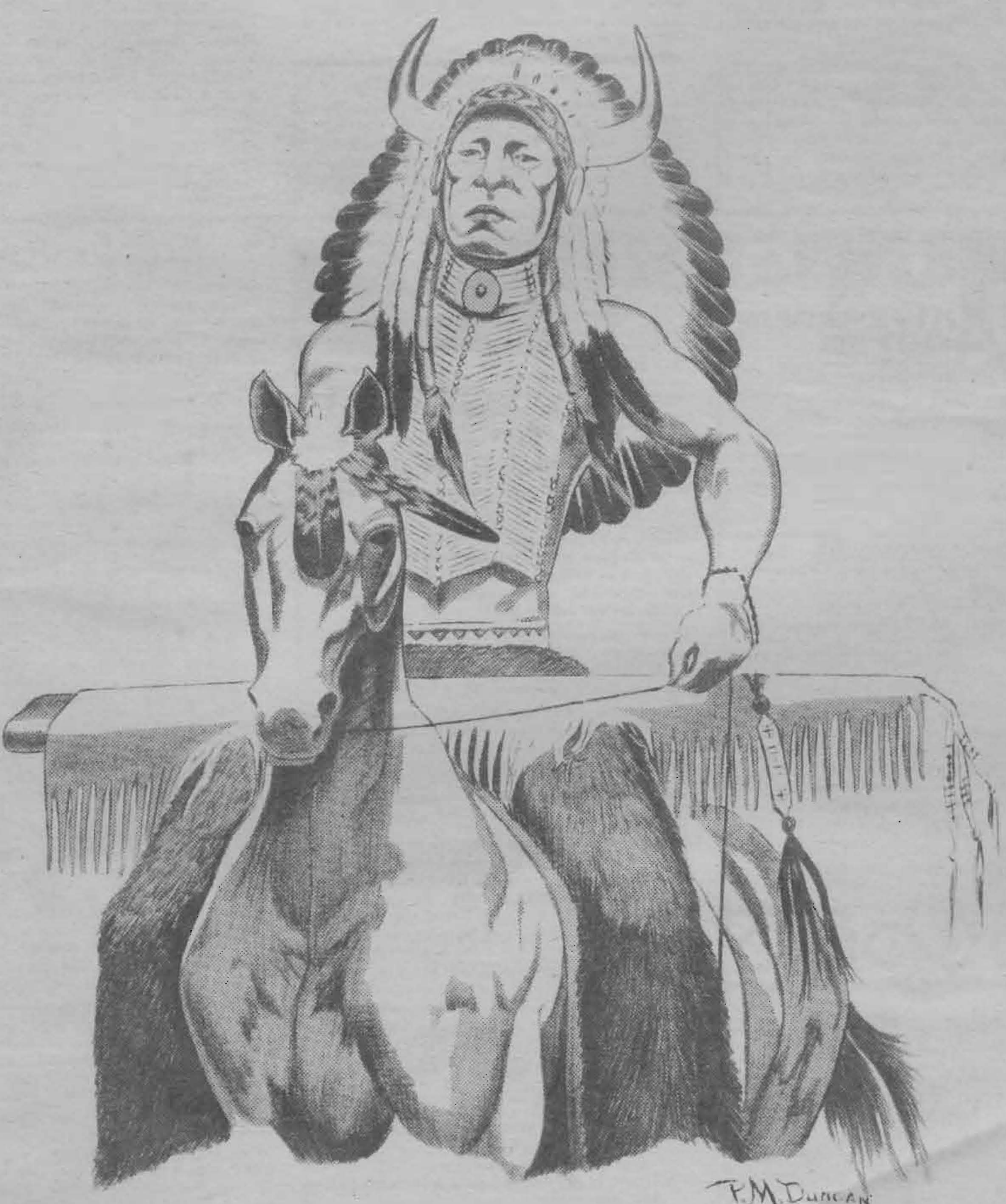
P.M. Duncan
9-29-74

How It Is With Us

It's always hard to tell if we're catching up or falling behind. Our new book, VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE 1973 was hardly back from the printer before it was soldout. It is now being reprinted, and will be mailed about January 1 to those who have orders waiting. It promises to move fast, so those who want copies should order now before it's gone again.

The calendar for 1975 did the same thing. We thought we had plenty in advance, but the orders came in that they too were gone soon. They will arrive about the same time as the books come from the bindery, January 1, and if you have an order waiting, that's when they will go out. There's still time for groups to use the calendar for fund-raising in your group or on your reservation, as well as to give gifts to friends.

As is usual, there are many articles we wanted to get into this issue and couldn't for lack of time/manpower/money. We continue to do the best we can, and apologize to those who we offend by not getting their material in print. And to people who are waiting for answers to letters – even the pile of "urgent" mail which comes in daily is too much for us to manage. We get about 1500 letters each week., and we are just doing the best we can. We do read the letters, though, process orders – and we hope you will continue to write. We need the support.

Off to Guatemala & Mexico

The next issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will contain, among other things, articles on Mexico and Guatemala, and Chicanos, arising from the trip of NOTES people to those countries. Other articles, poetry, artwork, photographs, etc., are solicited from readers for this special section. Of particular value will be background materials, and analysis of the Chicano movement as it relates to the Indian movement, and vice-versa. Deadline for receipt: March 1, 1975.

Some of the people from AKWESASNE NOTES have left for the Southwest on a fund-raising fact-finding consciousness-raising trip. The group will be accompanied by a delegation from El Teatro Campesino, the Chicano theatre group. Also on the trip will be Hopi, Pit River, Tewa, Ylaki, Mohawk, Anishnawbeg, Lakota, and Aztec persons.

On the way to the Southwest, the group will dip down into Mexico and Guatemala, visiting native/traditional communities inthose countries. On the way back home, stops will be made in Phoenix, Tucson, Oraibi (Arizona); Tesuque Pueblo, Santo Domingo, Bernalillo, Las Cruces (New Mexico); El Paso, Plainview, Amarillo, and Lubbock (Texas); various places in Oklahoma; St. Louis, Missouri; Bloomington, Indiana; Ashland, Ohio; and Wheeling, West Virginia. Persons in those areas wishing to meet with the group, or to offer hospitality, information, suggestions, etc., can contact NOTES for further information.

Attention College Students & Faculty!

A spring travel schedule is already in progress for the Great Lakes States, and possibly to the Northwest in the autumn via the Plains. It is of great importance to NOTES to hear from people who can help arrange two types of programs: with college campuses where an honorarium can be paid to help with the costs of getting the paper out, and reservation/prison/urban center native groups with whom we can share ideas, spiritual strength and support.

The last issue of NOTES was the first filed under a new mailing system. Likely we goofed up more than once. So if you didn't receive the last issue, please let us know – it has volume 6 number 4 on the cover.

Regarding visitors: we'd suggest that wherever possible, visits should be delayed until March, and preferably, until after May 15. We'd appreciate it if people could write us in advance, but if you're just passing by, drop in for coffee.

Unfortunately, because of the need to travel to raise funds, this issue will be the last until sometime in March. It should be a strong issue, hopefully worth waiting for. In the meantime, a hardworking crew will remain home to ship books, back issues, calendars, etc. (And finally we're able to get caught up on book orders – for those of you who have been waiting so patiently, the books are arriving daily from publishers now and your order will be filled.)

–from the people whose full-time lives revolve around NOTES at Akwesasne, including Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Susi, Kanatakeniate, Coyote, Kaherehare, Kanoharoten, Kahratohen, Francis Estrella, Katsitsiakwa, Tsewaa of the Tewa Nation, Karonhianoron, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird and DorothyAnn, Mickey Posluns, Louis & Lang of the tape crew, plus Vernon of the Anishnawbe Crane Clan, Juan Reyna and our teacher, Juanito; Rokwaho, David Campbell, Moses Daid, and thanks too: Michelle Vignes, Dorothy Gemmill, Cristin Lindstrom, Jon Lerner, the Spook, Ateronhiatakon, Kanaratkanoron and many others.

AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

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DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page – check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry – this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month it is many of those whose zip codes begin with "4" plus Alberta and some European nations who will have red labels. ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US if you are red-labelled and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although this might be a good time to renew your support.

Volunteer wanted: to prepare an index of AKWESASNE NOTES. Work can be done at home by an experienced person with a typewriter. Library skills helpful.

TO SUBSCRIBE

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs over $4,000, and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc., will add another $1,000 – and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive.

Some people have lots of money, others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have been received. And since we have no grants, no other sources of finances, we must depend on you, the readers for our survival

HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE AKWESASNE NOTES

. . . ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies . . . leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, workplace, tribal office . . . sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment and you send us 35 cents for each copy sold. Or order a packet of 6 for $2 prepaid or 20 for $5 prepaid. GET THE WORD OUT!

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

– towels, sheets, pillowcases
–kerosene lamps & lanterns
–used tarps, canvas, rugs
– tools of all kinds, especially wood-cutting tools, saws, axes, wedges
– maple syrup equipment
– seeds and roots for planting
– a ditto machine
– what have you?
– snowshoes?
– flashlights
– fishing equipment (nets & hook&line)
– pens and all kinds of office gear
– sketch & watercolor pads, artists supplies

Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. Date and identify all clippings.

send us your own materials – articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists – we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper – native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check at your local city, county, community, university, high school LIBRARIES to see if they have a paid subscription to NOTES. If they don't suggest that they get one. Suggest too that they order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials.

form a committee – or go by yourself – to check bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops. If they don't know about our books, crafts, or smoking mixtures, tell them to write – or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create alternatives, to inform. NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

"RIGHT-ON POETRY"
by BOB BACON

(Bob Bacon is a prolific poet who has been published often in AKWESASNE NOTES. His poetry will be included in a book featuring a quartet of poets from the pages of NOTES. He lives in Chicago. His wife and children are Lakota)

Spirits Speak

Spirits speak
Spirits say
"Don't give up the Indian way."
On moonlit nights
In rustling leaves
I hear them walk & I believe.
Hear the wind
Hear the owl
Hear the lone coyote's howl.
Spirits speak.
You call me mad
But after dark you are afraid.

— Bob Bacon

Ottawa

Ottawa, your very name
Springs from native sources
And yet you treat your natives worse
than Mounties treat their horses.
Shooting, gassing, clubbing us
When we petition you
While indoors Parliament sips tea
And eats some sweetcakes, too.
Canada, no different
Than your neighbors to the South
A Wounded Knee is coming here
Please listen — shut your mouth.
The blood of native peoples
Smears the writing on the wall
And those too ignorant to read it
Shall hear the war cry call.

— Bob Bacon

Hippie/Hopi

Hippie, rootless young one
You drive up in your bus
And steal our sacred objects
And hope to be like us.
Your long hair and your beadwork
Disguise your white man's ways
But still you seek to conquer
In new and different ways.
You call for revolution
You want free love and pills
You hope it fills a vacuum
Caused by your social ills.
But clothes don't make the Indian
No, clothes don't make the man
Unless you have respect for
The Spirit's unseen plan.
So go unwashed if that's your way
So get your thrills on pills
But please don't say you're Indian
It only makes us ill.

— Bob Bacon

Prophecy / Purification

The gourd of ashes (H-Bomb)
The picture box (TV)
The Hopis saw these things before
They ever came to be.
The flying house (the airplane)
The wires that carry words
All these things — and more — they saw
Including two world wars.
And now they see a future
When machines will stop their humming
A day of purification —
That day will soon be coming.
Good men will rise
Bad men will fall
In spiritual rebirth
The ground will shake
The walls will fall
Returning to the earth.
And out of this destruction
And from this purification
Those who prevail
Will learn to live
As one United Nation.

— Bob Bacon

Equality?

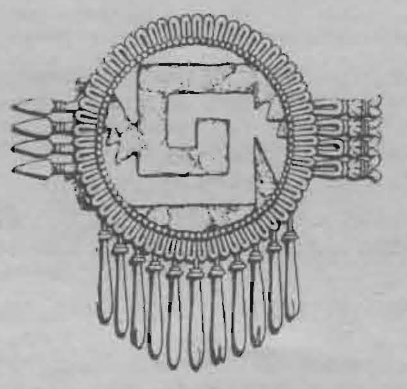
Yellow, white & black man
When will you understand
I do not want equality —
Just freedom and some land.
I do not want to integrate
Your country clubs and schools
I do not want a better job
I can't live by your rules.
I'm not a status seeker
I'm not competitive —
Those things do not want for me —
I only want to live.
It's not that I am lazy
I work to help my own
But I'm not money-crazy
So please leave me alone.
Take your integration
Take your civil rights
And melt them in your melting pot
That always comes out white.
I'd rather be an Indian
I'd rather be myself
Than one of many plastic puppets
Crowded on a shelf.

— Bob Bacon

I.H.S. Sterilization

Indian Health Service —
what "service" have you done?
Tied my tubes?
Torn out my womb?
(no more little ones.)
Next time as a "service'
If you really want to help
Take your sharpest instruments
And sterilize yourself!

— Bob Bacon



Warrior

Warrior, I respect you
You practice what you say
You have respect for others —
their vision and their way.
While some leaders live in motels
partying around
you eat with your own people
and sleep upon the ground.
Always first to hunger,
always last to eat,
sharing all with elders
and children that you meet.
Steering clear of alcohol,
steering clear of greed,
we wish that more were like you
you are the kind we need.
Warrior, I respect you,
your mind's not in a haze
you have my admiration,
please lead us in your ways.

— Bob Bacon

GANIENKEH

MOHAWKS STAND FIRM IN DEFENCE OF THEIR RIGHTS

Ganienkeh (near Eagle Bay, New York) – It all goes back to the time when the British people fought amongst themselves, the so-called Revolutionary War.

Joseph Brant fought his master's enemy without reserve. His master lost. After the war, Joseph Brant offered up the land of the people of his birth, the Mohawks, to his former enemies, now his dearest friends, confusingly enough.

Eager to get the nine-million acres involved without even having to tell the Mohawks about it, the State of New York hastily paid Brant $1,000 plus $500 expenses to make the deal binding, and found a U.S. Commissioner to make the deal appear to be legal.

The transaction is hardly a firm foundation on which to base a deed and ownership, but that's about how it happened.

But the Mohawks always said they would be back. And on May 13, 1974, they did return, supported by members of various native nations, to occupy an area of land which the state of New York claimed to own in the Adirondacks Park, a wilderness area.

During the summer months, the group established themselves physically, mentally, and spiritually. A community council was organized. Gardens were planted; buildings were readied for the harsh winter. Support of residents of the surrounding area seemed solid.

New York State prepared itself too, legally, and on September 9, sued for repossession of the land, a one-square-mile abandoned girls camp. It asked a U.S. District Court to declare that the state owned the land and to order eviction of the Indians, thus making even the nastiest of confrontations legally pure.

Indications were that the Mohawks would not appear in the court, saying that it was not good international protocol for the state of a nation to summons another nation into its own court. Diplomatic negotiations and treatying, or submitting to international mediation were the proper method of handling disputes, Ganienkeh leaders said.

(Ganienkeh, meaning flint, is what the "Mohawk" people use as an insignia for their own nation, using "Mohawk" when speaking English so that people will know what they are talking about. The vanguard move into the Adirondacks took the title, "Independent North American Indian State of Ganienkeh.")

Before the matter ever got to the point of court hearings, however, amateur vigilantes replayed out old American historical vignettes. Cars sped by the road near the encampment initially hurling insults, obscenities, and war whoops, later resorting to firearms. One time, after occupants of a passing car shot at a woman at the camp, she got into her own car and gave chase until she could read the licsnes number, which she turned over to the local sheriff. The sheriff handled the matter, bringing the culprit to court where he was fined for possession of an offensive weapon – a sawed-off shotgun.

Throughout the weeks to follow there was more shooting. Although hundreds of cars passed the encampment without incident, an occasional car would speed past, guns-ablazing, the occupants apparently having bolstered their spirits with alcohol. After several near-hits, the Ganienkeh security forces commenced to return fire, since local police had dismissed their complaints as "the work of pranksters." When Ganienkeh bullets hit their mark, the cars would head for the nearest police station, minus any arms, of course, to report they had been attacked by Indians.

Tragedy struck one night when a nine-year-old girl, passenger in a car Ganienkeh people say fired at them, was struck by pieces of a bullet, one lodging next to her heart. Sensationalist journalism continued to report her in "critical condition" long after doctors had told the family she had only a few days longer to remain in the hospital. Hers was the second injury that night – earlier, a 22-year-old man also sustained shoulder wounds from gunfire. Ganienkeh people again said they were shot at first. The last thing they wanted was trouble at the beginning of winter.

The Ganienkeh residents expressed deep concern for the injured girl, Aprile Madigan of Geneva, N.Y. "We feel it very strongly," said Kakwirakeren. "Our children were shot at the day before – we know what it is like. We burned tobacco at one of our sacred services for her recovery."

Although little legal action followed the reports of local residents shooting at Ganienkeh people, as soon as the injuries occurred, police quickly set up roadblocks to stop "outside Indians" from coming in for support, and to catch whoever had fired shots in what police called "an ambush."

Senior state police officials demanded that Ganienkeh negotiators turn over the culprits for trial in state courts, or to turn over rifles for ballistic tests. Ganienkeh leaders refused, citing treaties between their nation and the United States which set out the procedure to be followed in just such a matter. The Canadaigua Treaty of 1794, signed to establish peace and friendship between the United States of America and the Six Nations Confederacy, specifies in Article VII:

> – *"Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the Six Nations and the United States agree, that for injuries done by individuals on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but instead thereof, complaints shall be made by the party injured to the other: by the Six Nations or any of them to the President of the United States, or the Superintendent by him appointed; and by the Superintendent or other person appointed by the President to the principal chiefs of the Six Nations or of the nation to which the offender belongs. And such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve our peace and friendship unbroken, until the legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision for the purpose."*

–UPI

Kakwirakeren, a Ganienkeh spokesman, with New York State Troopers Major Robert S. Charland discussing jurisdiction – Mohawk or Yankee?

The treaty is admitted to be valid by the U.S. – every year it delivers a small amount of cloth to Six Nations people as provided for in the treaty. For years, U.S. officials have been trying to get the Six Nations to accept a sum of money in final payment rather than to go through the annual routine, but the Older People kept insisting on the cloth. Now they point to the cloth as proof that the U.S. knows the treaty is valid.

At a Grand Council of the Six Nations Confederacy held November 23-24, this position was firmly backed. A letter was read from BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson, who said he had been delegated by the President's office for the task, in which the above words seemed to be misinterpreted. The last phrases of the statement do not imply that Congress has the right to change the procedure, but simply that both sides agree to take prudent measures to preserve peace and friendship until such time as the Congress can remedy whatever trouble is riling up the Indians.

Thompson had said that a 1948 unilateral act of the U.S. Congress had "given jurisdiction to New York State in matters of crime committed on reservations."

The Grand Council position is that the Mohawks will investigate the shootings by its people, the U.S. will investigate the shootings by its citizens, and then the dispute will be taken to the negotiating table.

The White House had become involved when a statement was received from Ganienkeh residents citing "a state of extreme crisis" was building which "threatens the peace and friendship between the United States and the Six Nations."

Some troopers seemed patient and peaceful and conciliatory, while others wanted to get it on. "We never would have reached this state if we had gone in and cleaned them out at the beginning," an Albany state police spokesman said. "After all, two crimes have been committed and you don't negotiate a crime." Many of the troopers involved served in the assault on Attica Prison.

"We had no problems with the Indians until this incident," said Harry Fowler, in charge of the Eagle Bay Fire/Police, standing outside the firehouse where the State Police established their command post.

Douglas Bennett, who operates Big Moose Inn just up the narrow road from the Ganienkeh encampment, was bitter, though. "We are not dealing with Indians – we are dealing with savages," he said. Everyone wondered about the big question: would the winter snowmobilers come to spend their money or would they be scared off.

Eagle Bay, the nearest hamlet, has a population of about 150. It is in the western Adirondacks about 55 miles north of Utica on the shores of Fourth Lake, one of a string of Fulton Lakes that run parallel to Route 28 from Old Forge to Raquette Lake, a favorite spot for vacationing New Yorkers.

Kakwirakeren said that the land was chosen not only because the Mohawks felt a legal right to it, but because "we had no choice." He said "this was the only wild area where no white people live. We did not come here to make money, but to be self-sufficient, living off the land in a cooperative farming community." The tract was purchased in 1973 by the state of New York for $783,000 to be "forever wild," along with other Adirondack areas.

The local district attorney, Henry Blumberg, went to Town of Webb Justice Samuel Herman to get a search warrant in early December, but State Troopers were unsure of its legality and awaited word from the capitol whether they should enter the settlement, according to State Police Major Robert S. Charland.

Blumberg had said that force could not be used to carry out the search warrant, but Charland said his investigators reserved the right to enter the camp even if there was opposition. Kakwirakeren, a Ganienkeh spokesman commented, "All I can say is that they will not enter the grounds."

When Blumberg heard this, he took an initiative refreshing for a public official, especially since it might cost him some votes. He ordered the search warrant withdrawn. He said that Richard Bolton, counsel to the New York State Police, had told him on December 10 that if the troopers executed the warrant, it could very well involve the use of a force of *three hundred men.*

"I believe such a plan to be not only contrary to the statute and common sense, but also in derrogation of the executive responsibility of the Office of District

Attorney," Blumberg said. Since he had assured Justice Herman that deadly physical force would not be used, he said, he had a commitment to keep.

"To avert the confrontation that 300 armed men would in all likelihood create, I felt I had no alternative but to retreive the warrant from the state police," Blumberg said. Nonetheless, he said, the investigation into the shootings would continue. Hopefully, enough responsible citizens of Herkimer County will agree with Blumberg's action of honor on their behalf, and will see that he isn't penalized at the polls by it.

Blumberg had been pushed by local residents. Lawyers representing the Big Moose Property Owners Association, and the special group organized for the occasion, Concerned Persons of the Central Adirondacks (COPCA) had been meeting with their clients in closed session.

"The members are willing to set up meetings throughout the state to present the facts of the situation without resorting to the emotional approach the Indians have used," Dennis McAllistar, a spokesman for the residents said. "The consensus of the members is that Governor Wilson did not do his job last May and he still is not doing it today. Laws are being broken and there is no way we need a court judgment on the moral concept of the issue. We are frustrated and disgusted with the lack of enforcement of the laws that are being repeatedly broken by the Indians."

McAllistair said the residents were "very upset their constitutional rights have been denied them. Not only that, but revenues from tourists and sportsmen in local bars and motels was reported down.

According to McAllister, the Town of Webb Board passed a resolution officially endorsing the eviction of the Mohawks and their allies.

In early December, state assemblyman William Sears, a Republican, demanded that Governor Wilson evict the Mohawks from Ganienkeh. Wilson was defeated in his bid for election – he had been gotten the job when Nelson Rockefeller went on to bigger and better things.

Sears said the Indians were "ripping off" the people of New York State. He complained that the Indians said their intention was to "live off the land" – and they weren't doing that. He showed reporters pictures of the camp taken a year or so ago when the state purchased it. He charged that the Indians had received food and medical supplies from a community action agency, and that the Indian residents own automobiles, have a telephone. He was particularly bitter about one resident he said was receiving unemployment compensation amounting to $95 per week.

"While the Indians are on the property of New York State in defiance of our law, they are being supplied with the wherewithal to continue the defiance by the U.S. Government and the citizens of four nearby counties through taxpayers money," Sears proclaimed. "They are not living in the wild," he added.

Sears said his constituents saw the state's inaction at Ganienkeh as "another example of the tyranny of a minority of a few people seeking indefensible- . . . special treatment at the expense of the average citizen," he said, perhaps quoting an old Andrew Jackson speech.

When Ganienkeh was first occupied, spokesmen for the group said the property had been chosen because it was unoccupied and because they did not wish to displace local residents. Apparently the gift shops in the area stocking Navajo rugs and "genuine Indian moccasins", or such places as the Singing Waters Campground beckoning visitors to Minnehaha are more comfortable with the "Indian motif" than with live Indians.

In an affirmation of its own traditional spirituality and sovereignty, the second wedding at Ganienkeh was performed by spiritual and civil leaders on November 30. Kahawitha of the Wolf Clan and Atsitenha of the Snipe Clan, both Akwesasne people, agreed before their people to support each other in life.

The first child in the settlement was born in the encampment on October 8.

A second baby was born to Jo Ann Battese, an Oglala from the Plains, on in late October. The baby was delivered in Ganienkeh by a midwife.

Tight security has been maintained inside the camp. Journalists and non-native visitors have not been allowed. Even native people believed to be deeply involved with the American or Canadian Governments have been refused entry. Negotiations with officials are conducted at the edge of the encampment or on neutral ground.

GANIENKEH

I've sought
back and forth
seemingly wasted
youth
faded quick
as misty breath
on cold clean days
in autumn.
I've had my visions
while lying on rocks
and roadsides
of a scattered
confused people
coming together
hearing again
The Great Law spoken
Reverently
Beneath the Tree of Peace
whose branches spread
to shade and protect
and roots which search
for strength of nations
on all sides
with spirits kin
3200 miles away
I heard
the sacred drum
calling me
u-r-g-e-n-t
3200 miles
of fasting
my spirit throbbing
to the sound of the drum
brought me back
to my people
on their feet again
rejecting defeat
ready to die proud
than live in shame
striving for
solitary peace
leaving the violence
the white man labels
progress
in the ruins
it creates
we will build
new homes on our old land
so that we may
have something to die for.
A longhouse for my clan
my nation
my league
A territory
we deserve
As we own still –
Ganienkeh

– Tana

There is no electricty or running water in the settlement and the Kanienkeh people don't want any. The women's side cook in shifts for a common dining room. Heat and cooking fuel comes from wood. Government is according to Kaianarekowa, The Great Peace or constitution of the People of the Longhouse, a people's democracy. Alcohol and drugs are not allowed.

"It's our last opportunity to remain alive as a people," Kakwirakeren explains.

■ ■ ■ ■

(Thanks to informants from Ganienkeh, United Press International, Associated Press, Nicholas J. Lyman of the Watertown Times, R. Patrick Corbett of the Utica Press, Harold Faber of the New York Times for information.)

"Our fight is one of Sovereignty, Liberation, and International Treaty Law

(Russell Means recently talked with Geoff O'Connell of the New Times, an alternate newspaper published at Box J, Tempe, Arizona 85281. These are excerpts from the interview.)

"There's been a mistake in the larger society that just because Dennis and I have been exonerated that it's all over. We have approximately one hundred people still facing charges stemming from Wounded Knee. The majority of the defendants are women, and the majority of these women are mothers from the reservation. They are facing prison terms of from 5 to 40 or 50 years. . .

[Another mistake in the larger society arises from the [national news media viewpoint of us being a militant, violent-prone confrontation-type organization. We have had on-going programs since our founding in 1968 in such areas as manpower development, housing, free health clinics, alcoholic programs, and prisoner rehabilitation.

[Although AIM was active in the founding of the National Indian Education Association, Means no longer sees it as providing a viable alternative for native people. He sees it as developing not simply European values, but bourgeois European values. In contrast, there are the Survival Schools:]

"We have established five schools, Indian controlled, in which we teach the traditional religion of our forefathers and the Indian value system, which is collective and communal and tribal type of system rather than the free enterprise, individualistic fence-building bullshit that the United States perpetuates.

"The American Indian Movement, all Indian people, need the type of political organization from non-Indians that was manifested during the Vietnam war. The genocide that has been perpetuated against the Indians. . . should be made known to the larger society so that they can find the basis for a nationwide political organization to do to their country what they did during the Vietnam war. If that fails, the country fails.

"Then there would be nothing left for us to do but to die – to die in a total fight for freedom.

"The American Indian is involved in a total war with the United States of America and its government. There are so many fronts. We need fighters on the political front, the socio-economic front, the lobbying front, on the communications front. In every aspect of life today, we need people organizing, making their surrounding communities aware of what's going on. A national and international coalition of non-Indian and Indian people is needed more so now than ever before.

Indian people are hanging on by our fingernails to our traditional way of life. Once our traditional way of life goes, the United States of America – the European invaders and their descendants – will have been responsible for the total extinction of the original landholders here in [North America.]

"It burns my ass when the American Indian Movement is compared to any other social movement in the country. The social movements in this country that are non-Indian are after civil rights. We are after sovereign rights. . . We're a liberation organization.

"I see no spirituality in other organizations. [But] we follow the teachings of our old people and our ancestors. . . All things that are alive today, the green things, the winged things of the air, the four-leggeds, the things that crawl and swim, are all our relatives and they give us direction. That is how we built our civilization. That is how we live today – traditionalIndian people. I know we can't go back to hunting buffalo – but we do dream of a day, based on our spirituality, based on a respect for Mother Earth.

"The red man of the Western Hemisphere is one people because of our foundation. It is the same spirituality throughout. We are founded on the same concept of Mother Earth and all our relatives.

"You talk to the traditional Navajo or the traditional Hopi and they are one. They do not want to fight over areas of our Mother Earth. [That dispute] is a BIA, Federal Government sponsored fight. It's being perpetuated by the rip-off Indians who claim to have Indian blood but who are in fact two-bit facsimile white politicians with the color of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in them. And that color is totally white – with their short haircuts, their ties, and their shined shoes and their per diem.

"You see, the white man has made imaginary lines around the native American and calls them states, calls them reservations, calls them countries. There are no such lines to the traditional Indian. We do not draw imaginary lines. Only the Great Mystery can draw lines. And he draws lines like a desert, a mountain, like timber and grass.

"We do not have license to exploit and manipulate because we recognize that the two-legged – the human being – is the weakest thing on earth. And we have to learn our ways and our civilization from Mother Earth and all our relatives.

"But the white man believes he is a god because it is given him to exploit and manipulate. That is why he has schools and prisons, churches, judges, juries, police, oprhanages, old age homes and lines – welfare lines, unemployment lines. He doesn't believe in the people, and he doesn't believe in Mother Earth.

[Before AIM, the majority of native people set their sights in the cellar, the bottom of the spectrum, and tried to work their way up. But] "AIM has set its goals on international relationships. It's already begun and it's going to grow. And that's one of the reasons why I'll be dead before 1976 comes along. And so will the other leaders of AIM – they'll either be dead, or in prison, or on the run. They've done it to us before, for centuries. . . .

[Means derives some hope from the recent UN recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. He sees them as a model in terms of perseverence to gain world recognition. AIM has established International Indian Treaty Council offices across the street frthe UN.]

"Our fight is one of sovereignty, liberation, and international treaty law. There will always be freedom fighters among the Indian people as long as we have our spirituality. And someday – whether it is in my lifetime or not is immaterial – it will happen. We will have that recognition in the United States. We will succeed – we will prevail.

OKLAHOMA

STERILIZATION OF NATIVE WOMEN CHARGED TO I.H.S.

Claremore, Oklahoma — Investigations, denials, hearings and transfers have followed in the wake of charges of widespread sterilization of young native women in the U.S.-operated Indian Health Service Hospital.

Although native nurses and staff employed at the hospital had been making complaints through IHS channels since last June without results, IHS area director John Davis issued a directive to employees to refrain from speaking to the press and to use IHS channels for all complaints, upon penalty of dismissal.

Nursing supervisor Stella Richards, a target of the protests, requested reassignment to a San Francisco PHS hospital. An investigation committee of the hospital's Indian "advisory board" had recommended that she be transferred or fired. The hospital administrator, pharmacist Thomas Talamini said he was considering transfer as well. John Davis said that if he wasn't being "pressured by protestors," he probably would accept a reassignment immediately. "He does not want to give the impression that a bunch of people can force him out."

Feeling that he had been unjustly criticized by the Indian nurses in the hospital, the chief of pediatrics announced that he was quitting as soon as his two-year term of duty was up.

Dr. Richard W. Stander, who has received a number of USPHS grants in the past for scientific investigation regarding pregnant poverty-status women in Indiana and Ohio, was sent to Claremore by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He stated that he found no support for the allegations of genocide, saying "all sterilization procedures are performed only after extensive counseling by medical and social service personnel." He said the rate of sterilizations was "not unusual."

Dr. Connie Uri, a Los Angeles physician and a native woman, replied with statistics which said differently. In the fiscal year 1973, there were 132 native women sterilized at Claremore — 100 of these were non-therapeutic, meaning they had the sole purpose of rendering a young woman incapable of reproduction.

*

"From the IHS records, 19% of Indian women are of child-bearing age, or 45,000 women. Claremore was and still is sterilizing one woman for every seven births that occur in the hospital. This is genocide to Indian people."

Dr. Uri said that consent forms are written in English of a grade-12 level, and many women may not understand what they are signing. She said there should also be a policy of informed consent, stressing a family-planning program that offers other means of birth control and instituting extensive counseling.

"To sterilize any woman for non-therapeutic reasons in their teens or in their twenties is absolutely callous and criminal," Dr. Uri said.

In October, a surgical record book which could substantiate the number of sterilizations at Claremore turned up missing. A nurse notified authorities of the missing document, which turned up a week later in the hands of Dr. William Gideon, the hospital's chief of staff.

At a meeting before a regional IHS board, Dr. Uri attacked arguments that a poor woman with several children was "better off" sterilized. "She's still going to be poor. She just won't be able to have more children," Dr. Uri maintained.

But Dr. Uri's comments on sterilization sparked a rebuttal from Dr. Everett Rhoades, vice-chairman of the Kiowa tribe.

"One of the last things a young woman with four children under age 10, on welfare, and who knows nothing about birth control, needs is another baby, Dr. Rhoades said.

If the hospital administration had given as much attention to correcting its deficiencies as it did to preparing an "Evacuation and Closure Plan Due to Civil Demonstrations or Riots" — an eight-page complex document — perhaps the concerns of native people in the Claremore area would have been laid to rest. The report was drawn up in October.

The Association of American Indian Physicians, of which Dr. Rhoades is president-elect, issued a press release saying that it was concerned that if the Indian activists continued complaining about the problems at Claremore, the Oklahoma area IHS might close it down completely.

A Bleak Picture Presented

The Claremore problems seem to be part of a national picture. The U.S. Senate's Permanent Investigations subcommittee was told in September that understaffing and underfunding of the Indian Health Service was causing medical injury and needless death to many Indians.

Investigators for the committee and Indian witnesses told of doctors and nurses working in "crumbling" and ill-equipped facilities and being compelled to turn away sick patients who would be hospitalized elsewhere under current medical standards.

"Specifically," Senator Jackson asked Dr. Johnson of IHS, "what steps are you taking to determine the extent of such improper practices at the present time, and what are you doing to assure the Indians of America that unauthorized personnel are not operating on them when they are helpless or under anesthesia?" Jackson said that if shortages of doctors were causing IHS staff members to violate ethical codes and state law in order to provide care to Indian patients, he wanted to know about it.

Emery A. Johnson, director of the Indian Health Service, told questioning congressmen that IHS "considered non-therapeutic sterilization a legitimate method of family planning. We would be concerned only if these procedures were performed under coercion, or if there was evidence that the operations were carried out without informed voluntary consent. We are not aware of any instance in which such services have been abused."

An official report of the Senate subcommtitee confirmed that the hospital's sterilization procedures do "not set forth as clearly as possible the fact that the procedures are irreversible," however.

Other complaints confirmed by Senator Jackson's subcommittee showed that nurses were performing surgical procedures, such as circumcisions, but that parents were not informed of this because the IHS chief of pediatrics said he believed parents would develop "unnecessary anxiety." Such operations are against state law and federal regulation.

Henry Allen, chairman of the Tonkawa people in Oklahoma, cited a dozen cases of what he called inadequate treatment, often resulting in death, at the Pawnee, Oklahoma, Indian hospital.

In one case, an Indian was treated at the hospital for a bad cold even though his complaint was an aching bach, Allen said. He was given some aspirin and sent home. Later that night the pain was so severe that he was transported to a Veteran's Hospital where he was diagnosed as an ulcerated liver. He died three days later.

Chairman Henry M. Jackson, a State of Washington Senator, said that 29 of the 51 hospitals maintained for Indians by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, are in such bad shape that they cannot meet standards for certification.

A bill was signed in September, however, authorizing the construction of a new $8.5-million Indian hospital at Claremore. The 80-bed facility will have 269 employees.

The question is: will this mean even more sterilizations, or better health care?

A series of lawsuits are expected to arise from the new understanding that native people can do something about the health care they receive. The suits could be for both damages and injunctions for such things as using body parts from deceased native people without the consent of the dead person or the next of kin; failure of IHS hospitals to have basic therapeutic setups, such as inhalation therapy; violation of IHS regulations regarding sterilization standards; a class action forbidding illegal surgery; violations of Indian-preference hiring and promotion by IHS. The suits are expected to be ready for filing in January in Oklahoma City.

Persons concerned about the sterilization of native women should contact their senators and representatives in Washington, demanding a halt on sterilizations until proper guidelines and safeguards have been instituted. (And while you're at it, let them know how you feel about cuts in Indian health budget — about 30% last year.)

In Alberta, A Similar Story

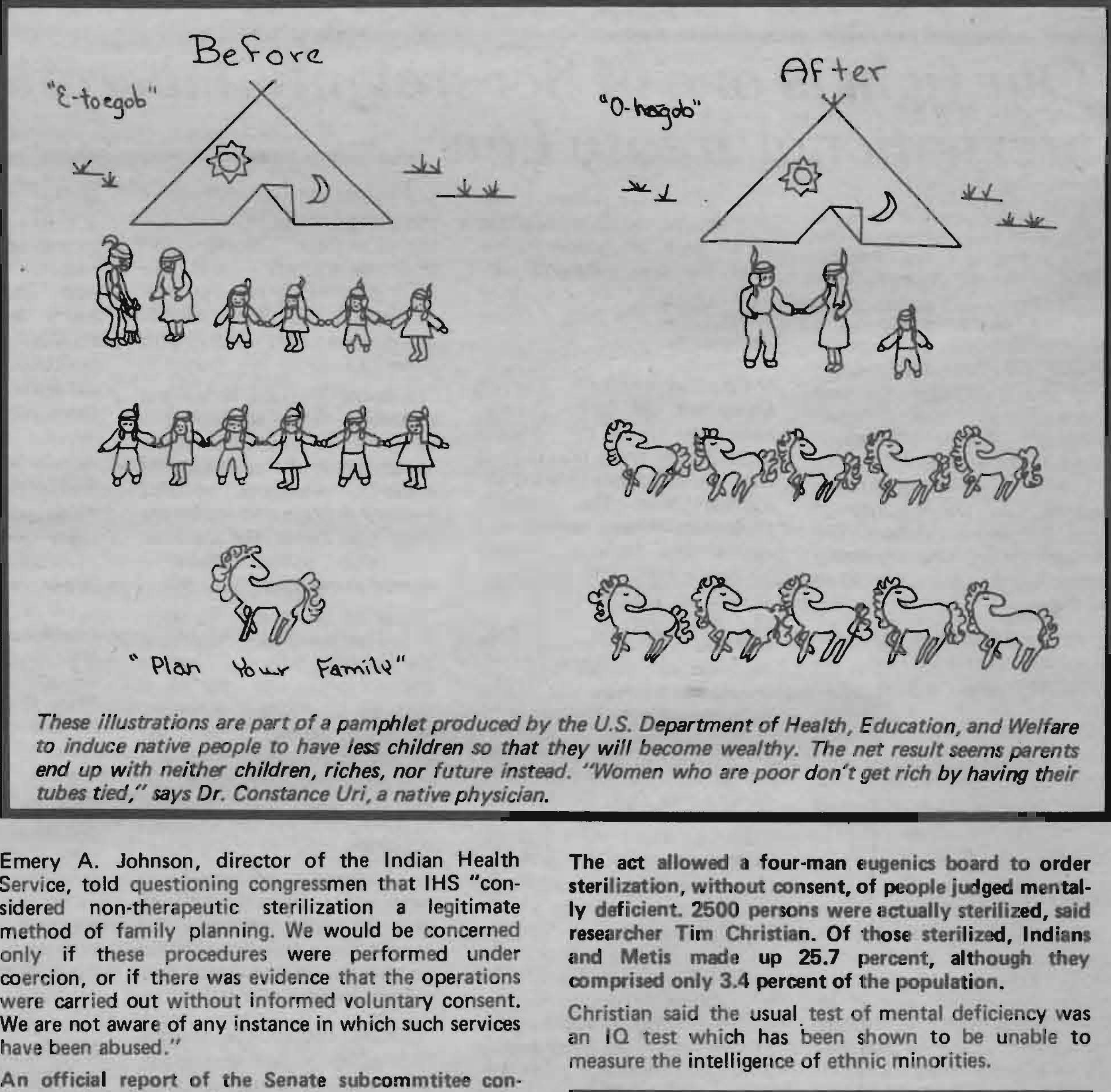
In Edmonton, a researcher showed that Alberta's Sexual Sterilization Act, repealed two years ago after its passage in 1928, concentrated on Indians, Ukranians, and Alberta's powerless as its chief victims.

The act allowed a four-man eugenics board to order sterilization, without consent, of people judged mentally deficient. 2500 persons were actually sterilized, said researcher Tim Christian. Of those sterilized, Indians and Metis made up 25.7 percent, although they comprised only 3.4 percent of the population.

Christian said the usual test of mental deficiency was an IQ test which has been shown to be unable to measure the intelligence of ethnic minorities.

And in Puerto Rico. . .

A recent survey by Vasquez Carsada at the University of Puerto Rico indicates that while in 1947 only 7% of the women of the island were sterilized, now over one-third of the women who are of child-bearing age will ever again have children. The Puerto Rican government is considering developing an even wider network of sterilization centres.



These illustrations are part of a pamphlet produced by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to induce native people to have less children so that they will become wealthy. The net result seems parents end up with neither children, riches, nor future instead. "Women who are poor don't get rich by having their tubes tied," says Dr. Constance Uri, a native physician.

Dr. Helen Rodriguez trained and practiced medicine in Puerto Rico. She gives information useful in understanding how native women may fall victim to sterilization even by their "own consent."

"By and large, it's the women with the least education who get sterilized," Dr. Rodriguez says. "Most of the women have had some failure in contraceptive use and do not have access to contraceptives on an equal level with women who are not sterilized." She charges that the Puerto Rican government is unhappy about a Supreme Court decision legalizing abortions, because this means less women will turn to sterilization to prevent conception.

"If you deny a woman a way out in a situation that she considers desperate, and on the other hand you open the door to another way which is sponsored by the government, which is free, which is accepted privately and publicly as the right thing to do, the likelihood is that she's going to choose sterilization.

Dr. Rodriguez says other methods of temporary birth control are not presented fairly as an alternative to sterilization, and that many women are led to believe that when they again desire to have children, that the operation can be reversed. It cannot.

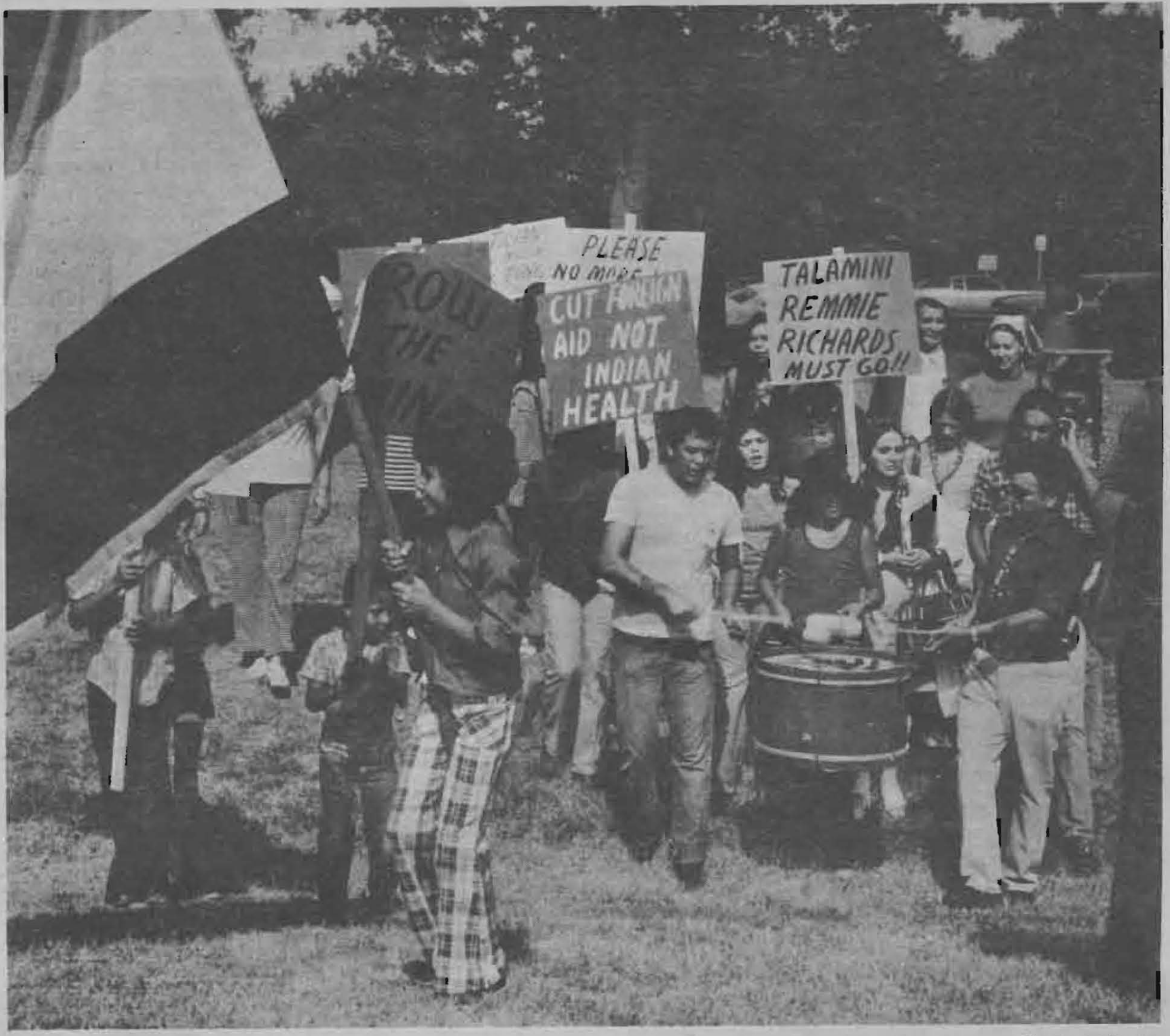
Ironically, "the pill" was first used in Puerto Rico on a wide level for purposes of experimentation in 1952-60 with levels of estrogen that are now considered quite unsafe. Now that contraceptive pills are safe for use, they are priced beyond the reach of most Puerto Rican women.

Heavy industrialization of Puerto Rico by American interests has limited space for housing and farming to support the population, causing the current government to consider limiting the population rather than limiting industrialization.

A study by the Public Citizen's Health Research Group [2000 P St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036], reported that often sterilizations are "sold" by physicians who request women to sign sterilization consent forms while they are in the labor pains of childbirth. "In fact, medical staff pressures are often brought to bear upon the intern who balks at such practices," the report said.

Other studies have shown that the three factors that contribute most to later regret over sterilization are: being very young (most of the women sterilized at Claremore are in their teens and twenties), deciding under duress; the procedure suggested by the physician rather than the patient. As many as one out of four patients find out they are wrong in discovering the operation is reversible, and said had they known, they would have chosen another form of contraception.

The research group reported too that complete hysterectomies are done instead of tubal ligations, a relatively simple procedure, as part of the training of a surgeon which holds cutting sacred. A young surgeon is "rewarded" for performing more operations, even if on Indian women, in the form of residence certification and specialty board qualifications, which are later translated into financial rewards wherein the same principle applies: the more you cut, the more money you make.


ROLL THE
PLEASE NO MORE
CUT FOREIGN AID NOT INDIAN HEALTH
TALAMINI REMMIE RICHARDS MUST GO!!

— Progress photo

Native people demonstrate for end to sterilization practices at Claremore

A new medical ethics is also being encountered more and more — the physician who takes it upon himself to remedy the affairs of the world as he sees it. "People pollute, and too many people crowded too close together cause many of our social and economic problems. These in turn are aggravated by involuntary and irresponsible parenthood," wrote one doctor in *Contempory ob/Gyn* a medical journal. "As physicians, we have obligations to our individual patients, but we also have obligations to the society of which we are a part. The welfare mess, as it has been called, cries out for solutions, one of which is fertility control."

This is Your Population Control Center

In Washington, D.C., there is an HEW agency called the Population Control Center, headed by Dr. Louis Hellman. It pours out money to groups working with poor people to control their births. PCC started funding Indian groups in 1965, and perhaps not so coincidentally, the rising rate of native births over the decade before began to fall. Requests for statistics on PCC's involvement with native peoples have gone unanswered, even when coming from congressmen.

"Zero population growth may be all right for the white man, because he's crowding this continent," says Dr. Uri. "But for the Indian, it's genocidal. Let's control our own reproduction, instead of meeting the demands of the white economic-social values."

"American Indian Health Professionals, Inc.," is preparing a booklet for widespread distribution, *What Every Indian Woman Should Know About Sterilization,* possibly to be published by AKWESASNE NOTES.

In the meantime, these guidelines might be considered:

1. All sterilization operations should be considered permanent and non-reversible.

2. Understand that women less than 30 are more likely to regret sterilization than those over 30, since often remarriage or the death of an existing child is more likely.

3. Women should ask themselves whether sterilization is being chosen because of stress — either financial or emotional — that may not exist in the future.

4. Be willing to try other methods of birth control.

5. Any doctor who says that a woman "needs" a sterilization should be questioned closely, asked for a written statement, and a second independent consultation with another doctor should be obtained.

6. Take heed of the doctor who brings up the idea of sterilization himself, especially if he does not insist that you be fully informed of all risks and alternatives.

7. Understand that no method of contraception, including sterilization, is problem-free.

8. Do not make a hasty decision. To avoid unhappy results, require at least a 30-day waiting period between consent and the operation.

(Thanks to Robert E. McGarrah, Jr., staff attorney for Public Citizen's Health Research Group, for his article on Surgical Sterilization adapted for the Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences. Thanks also to Gypsy Hogan of the Sunday Oklahoman, Liberation News Service, and American Indian Health Professionals for this information.)

CANADA'S CLAIMS COMMISSIONER SEES SEPARATE LAND BASE OR VIOLENCE COMING AS 'THE NEW BALL GAME'

Yellowknife, N.W.T. — Canada must be prepared to adopt a policy of "racial separation" that gives its native people economic and political power or risk violent confrontation, Canadian land claims commissioner Lloyd Barber said here October 23.

Calling the native situation one of "emergency proportions needing the highest priority," Dr. Barber warned the Yellowknife Rotary Club at a luncheon address: 'We are in a new ball game. The old approaches are out."

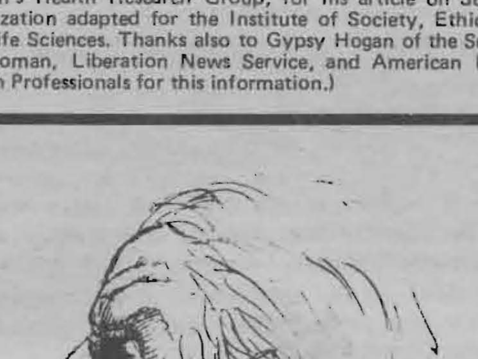
Barber, a University of Saskatchewan vice-president, added that "we've been allowed to delude ourselves about the situation for a long time because of a basic lack of political power in native communities." He said the country has "a significant piece of unfinished business" in its land claims negotiations with Indians, Metis, and Inuit peoples

"I hope we are psychologically prepared for this challenge," he told the group. "It has come upon us rather suddenly and tends to shock the basis on which we have always thought about people."

Barber said the idea of racial separation wasn't really new: "While we have always talked in terms of integration and equality, the fact is that we are co-existing with native people in this country. We are separate and they do have special status under our constitution, through law and through government policy. We may not think separation is desirable, but we must accept that it exists and it may be that new and healthier forms of it may be necessary before we can really come closer together with native people."

The granting of separate status with control over natural resources will pose problems for non-natives, Barber said. But, he added, "if we are to deal fairly with native people, it must mean that they are given the type of power in economic and political terms which will make things more difficult for us."

Later, in an interview, Barber said the native requests being heard now were not new — it is just that more articulate leaders have been able to explain them to non-natives, that's all. "All the while that native people have been harboring their firm belief in their rights to identify as a special people, we have tended to assume that they were merely a poverty problem on the periphery of our affairs in Canada."



Speaking in Parliament, Indian Affairs Minister Judd Buchanan told questioners that Barber was not making a statement of Government policy, but was just speaking as a private citizen.

A POLICY OF GENOCIDE

[The following document is an abridged version of a report written by a group of Brazilian anthropologists, and presented at the XLI International Congress of Americanists, Mexico City, September, 1974. Because of the nature of political repression in Brazil, their names were not attached to the document.]

At a time when General Ernesto Geisel replaces General Garrastazu Medici [as Brazil's president] new and grave dangers hang over the indigenous racial minorities of Brazil. In his first public announcement, the new Minister of the Interior, Mauricio Rangel Reis declared:

"This is a promise that I can firmly make: We will assume a policy of integrating the indigenous population into Brazilian society in the shortest time possible . . . We believe that the ideals of preserving the indigenous population within its 'natural habitat' are very nice ideals, but unrealistic."

This thesis is not new. With more or less emphasis, it has come to be the dominant Indian policy of the Brazilian Government since 1964. What is new is that the government now has better conditions than ever before to put this policy into practice. In December, 1973, General Medici sanctioned a new law, The Indian Statute, which established a legal basis for the "rapid integration" of Indians, and the wholesale expropriation of their lands.

The most notable aspect of this policy is that it completely ignores the history of indigenous experience in Brazil, which has proven, over a period of 70 years, that the hundreds of tribes who have been subjected to a policy of "rapid integration" do not integrate into Brazilian society, but on the contrary, rapidly deteriorate and disappear as a people.

An Official Policy of Genocide

The National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) was created in 1968 in order to counter various accusations that the Brazilian Government was practicing a policy of genocide against its remaining Indian peoples and tribes. In its original statutes, FUNAI was presented as a synthesis of the most advanced aspects of Brazilian Indian policy. It incorporated the conclusions of the Brazilian indigenous experience, and endorses the principles of the United Nations and the International Labor Organization as regards human and minority rights.

The first article of the FUNAI statutes included the following:

a. respect for tribal institutions and communities;

b. guarantee of the permanent possession of lands which Indians inhabit and the exclusive use of natural resources therein, according to the Brazilian Constitution;

c. preservation of the biological and cultural equilibrium of Indian communities in contact with national society;

d. defense of the spontaneous acculturation of Indian communities, rather than their rapid and enforced acculturation.

At the same time, pressured by public and international opinion, the Government promised support for the Xingu National Park, and the creation of five new indigenous parks: the Tumucamaque Indian Park in the extreme north of the state of Para, the Aripuana in Rondonia and the extreme west of Mato Grosso, the Araguaia on the island of Bananal, the Ianomami in the extreme north of Amazonas, and the Atalaia of the North in the west of Amazonas.

By 1970, however, FUNAI began to change its policy and deviate from the principles stated in its original charter. Economic groups from the south of the country, large landowners and foreign corporations began to pressure the Government to open up the lands of the Amazon, and opposed the recognition of Indian rights. The Government announced plans for the construction of the Trans-Amazonic Highway, movilized financial support from international agencies such as the World Bank, and introduced a system of fiscal incentives to lure investments into the Amazon region. Finally, several FUNAI declarations began to assume an entrepreneurial position, arguing that Indians must be integrated as a manual labor force into Amazonian development and growth.

On January 25, 1971, the President of FUNAI signed a decree which read: "Assistance to the Indian will be complete as possible, but cannot obstruct national development nor block the various axes of penetration into the Amazon region."

In accordance with this new orientation, FUNAI's central preoccupation became the rapid attraction and pacification of tribes living along the route of the Trans-Amazonic Highway. Immediately, it became clear the FUNAI's function was not the protection of constitutionally recognized Indian rights, but the protection of highway workers against a supposed Indian threat.

Thus the solemn dispositions of the FUNAI program (e.g., respect for the rights of tribal minorities) were left on paper, and the Government began to repeat the genocidal policies of the past. Today, it is more than three years since these policies have been put into practice. Let us briefly consider what has occurred.

Along The Route of the Trans-Amazonic Highway

1. The Jurunas, Araras, Paracanas, Assurinis, and Kararaos

At the end of 1970, the FUNAI "attraction teams" contacted the first tribes along the route of the Trans-Amazonic Highway in the state of Para: the Jurunas, 75 kilometers from Altamira, and the Araras, on the banks of the Penetacua River, 170 kilometers from the highway. By 1972, of the 200 Araras contacted, no more than 50 were left. The tribe had abandoned its village, and was wandering, perplexed, along the highway in the darkest of misery.

The Symbol of Brazil's Indian Policy . . .
An Amazonian Woman and Her Land's Colonizers, 1969

Also in 1970, contact was established with a group of Paracanas in the valley of the Pacajas River to the north of the Serra do Caraja. Support for the "pacification' of the Paracanas was provided by the **United States Steel Company** who, in conjunction with the state-owned firm of **Vale do Rio Doce** had obtained a large iron ore concession in the area.

On December 18, 1970, a helicopter carring a FUNAI delegate and a director of **United States Steel** arrived in the area and made contact with 25 Paracana tribesmen. The Indians were given blankets, and immediately were stricken by an epidemic of influenza. Within six months of first contact, not less than 40 Paracanas had died from influenza. At the same time, FUNAI officials were reported to be having sexual relations with Indian women.

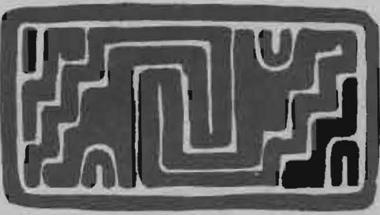
By order of General Ismarth de Araujo, a judicial investigation was called, but only the accused persons were heard, and they denied everything. FUNAI announced that the "denunciations were totally unfounded." Meanwhile, the two lower-level Indian agents who had made the original accusations were chastised.

By November, 1971, Dr. Antonio Madeiros visited the Paracana village and found a pattern of promiscuity between "civilized people" and the Indians. Thirty-five Indian women and two FUNAI officials were found to have venereal disease. Eight children in the village were born blind as a result of gonorrhea, and at least six children died of dysentery. In February, 1972, another influenza epidemic struck. Doctors were sent to the area, but without medicines, and more members of the tribe died.

A similar process occurred during the "pacification" of the Assurini and Kararao tribes. Of 80 to 120 Assurini contacted itheir village along the banks of the Bacajas River in 1971, no one knows how many exist today. Of 85 Kararaos, first contacted in 1965 and later "pacified" during the opening of the highway, only three miserable individuals remained in 1972.

2. The Tembes:

The Tembe live on the banks of the Gurupi River along the border between Para and Maranhao. For several years they were protected against land invasions by a title deed provided by the government of Para. Nevertheless, in the late 1960s, FUNAI began to negotiate with **King Ranch** a U.S.-based enterprise, for the transference of the Tembe lands.



In order to receive financial incentives from the government agency charged with the development of the Amazon region (SUDAM), the King Ranch needed a certificate demonstrating that *no* Indians occupied these lands. FUNAI provided them with the certificate. Then the **King Ranch** together with the Government, began proceedings for the voiding of Indian title, and the Tembe were dispossessed of their land.

The invasion of the Tembe Reserve is typical of what is happening to Indian lands all along the Trans-Amazonic Highway. By the end of 1973, almost all of the region was occupied by agricultural enterprises, colonization projects, or mining firms. Of eleven reserves created by Government decree to receive tribes found along the highway, *not one* has been concretely planned or protected against outside invasions.

The Araguaia River Valley

1. The Tapirapes, Carajas, and Javaes:

The Tapirape Indians live near the town of "Santa Teresita" along the Mato Grosso side of the Araguaia River. Protected over the past decade by a religious mission, their population nearly doubled, reaching 104 persons in 1972.

The Tapirape territory, however, was included in the immense landholdings bought by the **Tapiraguaia Colonization Company**, a Sao Paulo real estate firm supported by incentives from SUDAM. Typically, FUNAI did not come to the defense of the Indians, but rather decided to relocate them to the Araguaia Indian Park on the Island of Bananal.

The Araguaia Indian Park was created by presidential decree in 1971, and is the traditional territory of the Caraja and Javae tribes. To call this island an "Indian Park" is misleading, as for more than ten years, Bananal has been occupied by cattle ranches and tourist hotels. The once-great Caraja Nation is now reduced to a couple of hundred people, with the men corrupted by alcohol and the women prostituting to local whites. An "Indian Hospital" exists on the island, but 17% of the Carajas have tuberculosis. The infant mortality rate is astounding.

The Javae tribe lives in the interior of the island. Their territory has been surrounded by the barbed wire fences of intruding cattle ranches, an;they die in misery from tuberculosis, tracoma, influenza and measles. To date, the Tapirape have refused to be removed to the "Park," aware of the inhuman conditions they would face.

2. The Xavantes

In 1945, the once large and powerful Xavante Nation was "pacified", resulting in a large number of deaths and tribal disorganization. The Xavante inhabited a vast territory bordering on the states of Mato Grosso and Goias. During their "pacification" and the ensuing invasion by cattle ranches, a number of Xavante Bands were relocated to mission stations and large ranches. In the 1960s, one group of Xavante was carried by airplane to the immense **Suia-Missu Ranch** (680,000 hectares) owned by a wealthy Sao Paulo industrialist and the Italian firm, **Liquigas.**

Throughout the 1960s, tensions grew between the 2,000-member Xavante tribe and invading ranchers. Finally, in 1969, the Government conceded to the Xavante demands, promising them a reserve which comprised one-tenth their original territory. The Xavante, however, protested, arguing that the reserves were too small and that the cattle had driven away all of their game. The Xavante continued to stand up for their rights, blocking the highways being built into their territory, and refusing to be forcibly relocated as a cheap labor force to the surrounding ranches.

In 1972, the Government again promised the Indians new reserves. This time, however, the ranchers protested, claiming that the land was theirs, and refused to let Government topographers measure the Xavante lands. The Xavante again became demoralized, claiming that neither the Government nor the ranchers respected their rights.

In October, 1973, it was learned that three Xavante were assassinated by local ranchers. The Federal Police were sent to the Xavante region, but more to protect the ranchers than to follow through with the demarcation of the Indian reserves. As of March, 1974, tension remained in the Xavante area, with neither the Indians nor the large ranchers agreeing to be moved.

On the Cuiaba-Santarem Road

1. The Cranhacarores:

In February, 1973, the Villas Boas brothers made first contact with the legendary and hostile Cranhacarore tribe. Actually, the brothers lamented this "attraction mission", as they knew the fate that would await the tribe. The contact, however, was necessary because the Cuiaba-Santarem Highway would pass within four kilometers of the Indian Territory, and cattle ranches were beginning to surround the tribe. Immediately following the Villas Boas brothers contact, the contradictions of FUNAI policy became clear.

In March, 1973, President General Medici signed a decree for the establishment of a Cranhacarore Reserve, but it did not include the territory inhabited by the tribe. Further, throughout the year following their "pacification", FUNAI officials at the Cranhacarore substation promoted the movement of Indians from their village to the highway, were construction crews were located. On January 6, 1974, Brazilian newspapers carried a report on what was happening to the Cranhacarore tribe.

[An investigator determined that the morals of the Indians had been corrupted by Antonio Souza Campinas, the very man charged with their protection by FUNAI, and that they were addicted to alcohol and were dying from diseases] Months before, several Indian agents, including Orlando Villas Boas, [had warned FUNAI, but they were ignored. After the expose the Government merely transferred him, but after more problems he was suspended.]

As of March, 1974, Cranhacarore tribesmen were still reported to be dispersed along the highway, fraternizing with truck drivers, begging for food. Their fields were totally abandoned, and they were in a state of sickness, hunger, and misery. The tribe was totally disorganized, and without protection. In time, they would either disappear, be taken as workers to surrounding cattle ranches, or be forced to relocate into the confines of the Xingu National Park.

In Rondonia

1. The Cintas-Largas and Suruis:

Few tribes have suffered as much as the Cintas Largas, whose territory is located at the headwaters of the Aripuana River, along the borders between Mato Grosso and Rondonia states. Throughout the 1960s, they were victims of a series of massacres, which included the slaughter of Indian women and children, the bombing of their villages, and death through "presents" of sugar mixed with arsenic.

Finally, in 1968, a FUNAI "pacification" team convinced the Cintas-Largas to live peacefully with settlers along the expanding frontier, and in 1971, the Aripuana Indian Park was created to protect the more than 2,000 Cintas-Largas and Suruis. Their protection, however, was short lived, and immediately tragedy struck these tribes.

In October, 1971, a measles epidemic arose among a Surui band, and in December, the Surui rebelled, killing an Indian agent in charge of the Aripuana Park.

General Bandeira de Melo, the president of FUNAI, blamed the Indian rebellion on a number of colonization companies who had invaded the Park, but later it became known that these companies were authorized by FUNAI itself. One company in particular, **Itaporanga Colonization Company**, was selling land parcels in the park.

In January, 1972, Deputy Jeronimo Santana of Rondonia accused FUNAI of "patronizing" these invasions and failing to protect Indian rights. He provided evidence that several tin mining companies, including **Compania Espirito Santo de Mineracao** (owned by W.R. Grace-Patino) and **Compania Auxiliar de Mineracao** (controlled by the **Halles** banking group) were given permission to prospect in the Park.

Later in November, 1972, it was learned that gunmen had been hired to assassinate the Cintas-Largas people. At the same time, a French doctor, Jean Chiappino, reported that the Suruis were being decimated by tuberculosis and malnutrition. He confirmed that more than 20 Surui had died from tuberculosis in the previous months, all located at the "Seventh of September" Indian Post.

In March, 1973, SUDECO, the agency in charge of development of the central-west region, announced the construction of a highway through the Aripuana Park. Some days later, FUNAI announced that it had given permission for the building of the road.

Finally, in October, 1973, FUNAI announced that the original demarcation of the Aripuana Indian Park was "hasty" and declared that it would be reduced to one-third of its present size. At the same time, it was learned that ten mining companies were given prospecting rights in the Park, including multinational affiliates of **Billington Corporation, Royal Dutch Shell**, the **Itau** financial group, an associate of the **Rockefeller-Moreira Salles** group, and the **Molybdenium Corporation** (MOLYCORP).

Apoena Meireles, the Indian agent who led the first "pacification" expeditions to the Cintas-Largas, declared:

"Today, there is a tragic reality in the Aripuana Park. In less than four years, the lands of the Cintas-Largas have begun to be invaded, the epidemics have already left their mark, and many of them have fallen along the road where they have found misery, hunger, and prostitution of their women."

The Extreme North of Brazil

The tribes who are most distant from the fronts of expansion are in the large area to the north of the Amazon Basin within the regions of Amapa, northern Para, Roraima, and western Amazonas. There are no less than 10,000 Indians in this region, dispersed in hundreds of villages.

Throughout this century, the Indian population has greatly diminished as a result of various forms of slavery created by the rubber and Brazil nut industrial booms. Today, the major threat to Indian survival lies in the construction of the **Northern Perimeter, Alenquer-Surinam**, and **Manaus-Caracarai-Boa Vista Highways**.

The **Northern Perimeter Highway** will extend for 2500 kms. and pass through several Indian areas. FUNAI has announced that it will go ahead of construction crews in order to insure the survival of Indian groups. In reality, this has not happened. The work on the Northern Perimeter Highways began in August, 1973, and only in November did FUNAI receive the necessary funds to send "attraction teams" to the region. On November 20, 1973, forest workers on the Northern Perimeter encountered a group of 50 uncontacted Indians near Caracarai without being accompanied by a single functionary of FUNAI.

Five tribes (the Parakoto, Charuma, Warikyana, Vayana and Tirio) numbering approximately 5,000 persons, in the region of the Trombetas River in northern Para, have two highways moving in their direction. The majority of these Indians are within the area of the Tumucumaque Indian Park. Nevertheless, this Park, created by a decree of 1968, has recently been closed, in all probability, to avoid criticism once the highways intrude within its boundaries.

In Roraima, land speculation has received a great impulse in the past few years. The government agency charged with agrarian reform, INCRA, has demarcated private properties in the area, but as of yet has not delineated any Indian lands. Over 3,000 Indians live in this region, including the Macuchi and Vapitxana peoples, whose lands have passed into the hands of large agri-businesses. On May 18, 1973, a group of gunmen invaded a Macuchi village, killing one Indian and injuring several others.

In southern Roraima, two highways are crossing the territories of the Atroari, Waimiri, Machacali, and Iauperi tribes. Since 1968, a series of conflicts have emerged between these peoples and invading highway workers and settlers.

The Atroari and Waimiri resisted the intrusion of the **Manaus-Boa Vista Highway** in their territory, killing a priest and eight other workers sent to "pacify" the tribes. In April, 1970, a merchant contracted six gunmen to hunt down the Indians, and nine Attroaris were assassinated. No one has yet been convicted for these crimes, although they caused a scandal in the Brazilian press.

Farther to the West, the **Northern Perimeter Highway** will cross the northern part of the State of Amazonas, passing through the territory of the Ianomami people. In 1968 and again in 1971, FUNAI promised that a Park would be created for the approximately 5,000 Ianomami-speaking peoples on the Brazilian side of the frontier, but to date no Park has been created.

An even greater concentration of Indians is found in the extreme west of Amazonas, in the basin of the Solimoes River. In this region, which will also be crossed by the Northern Perimeter Highway, live several thousand native peoples, the principal groups being the Baniwa and Tucana peoples. The Atalaia do Norte Indian Park, decreed in 1968, and promised by General Bandeira de Melo again in 1972, still remains on paper.

Meanwhile, even previous to the arrival of the new highway, problems between Indians and whites have arisen: sickness, slavery in the rubber plantations, bloody conflicts. In 1972, the Marubo Indians attacked lumber workers in the area. Then, in 1973, an Indian post was attacked by the Marubo, in retaliation against broken promises by FUNAI.

Threat to the Xingu National Park

In November, 1973, General Ismarth de Araujo, one of the numerous generals who occupy a high administrative post in FUNAI and who in the Government of General Geisel has been promoted to its presidency, announced in Brasilia that a change in the orientation of the Xingu National Park was inevitable. He declared that it was the official intention of the Government to "integrate into society" the 15 tribes who live in the Park.

Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas, the two world-famous brothers who for 29 years have dedicated themselves to the protection of the Indians of the Xingu, immediately protested. They argued once again that such rapid integration would lead these tribes to the destiny of hundreds of others in Brazil.

"Our position is not novel," Orlando Villas Boas said. "The Indian culture must be protected until the Indian has the option of integration." He went on to state that if a change in national policy was made, he and his brother would submit their resignations to FUNAI.

The Xingu National Park, home of 15 tribes representing the four major aboriginal language groups of Brazil, is a legend of humanism, an admirable and respected work which has been receiving public recognition both within Brazil and abroad. Yet, throughout its history, the Park has always had its enemies, those who would forsake Indian rights and rob Indian peoples of their lands.

In 1961, when President Janio Quadros signed the law creating the Park, there was strong opposition on the part of landowners in the Brazilian Congress and in the bastions of government. Fortunately, this threat was controlled, but in 1970 again, large land owners motivated by fiscal incentives provided by the Brazilian Government again were demanding the Xingu lands.

Huge cattle ranches began to arrive at the frontiers of the Xingu Park, provoking incidents, invading its limits, and looking for Indians as a cheap source of labor.

Then in February, 1971, the Government announced the construction of a highway through the Park. The highway was being built by the Superintendency for the Development of the Center-West (SUDECO), an agency within the Brazilian Ministry of the Interior like FUNAI.

At the time of the announced invasion, the Minister of the Interior claimed, "We will give all assistance to the Indian, but he cannot be an obstacle to the development of the country." The President of FUNAI confirmed this view, adding that "the highway will not prejudice the Park."

Behind the SUDECO highway project were some of the most powerful agri-business associations in Brazil: **The Association of Agri-Businessmen of the Amazon, Federation of Agriculture of Mato Grosso (FEMATO), The Development Corporation of Mato Grosso** (CODEMAT). Reinforcing their desire for land were several foreign companies and various powerful economic groups from the south of the country: **BRADESCO, Manah, Union Paulista, Codespar, Codeara, Anderson Clayton, Magalhaes Pinto, Borden, Electro-Radiobraz, Reunidas, Liguigas, Ometto, King Ranch**, etc.

The **BR-80 Highway** was planned to cut through the northern part of the Xingu National Park. Another highway, it was soon discovered, was planned to connect the ranches of the Xingu Basin with the **Cuiaba-Santarem Highway** passing through the middle of the Park.

(continued on next page)

As the press reports emerged, it became known that a private plane belonging to the Reunidas group was used to fly officials over the Xingu, and that the Brazilian Minister of the Interior had dined with businessmen in the area at the Suia-Missu Ranch as early as April 22, 1969.

In March, 1971, one of the directors of SUDECO stated in the newspaper *O Globo*: ". . . the immense lands that form part of the territory of the Park are able to be used rationally, with the creation of experimental farms, in which the Indians would be employed in the work and cultivation of the fields."

To legitimize the invasion of the Park, a press campaign was let loose with the intent of defaming the Villas Boas brothers and their work.

"The Indians of the Xingu," a director of SUDECO claimed, "live in a state of incredible misery, practically left to their own luck, because those responsible for the Park consider it better to maintain them in their natural state."

A Policy of Genocide

In a European television interview of February 13, 1970, the Brazilian Minister of the Interior, General Costa Cavalcanti, emphatically declared: "I formally reject the accusation that the Brazilian Government has at any moment practiced genocide against our Indians . . . The policy of the Government of Brazil is one of gradual integration. This is defined by the directives set forth in Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization, of which Brazil is a signer."

Let us consider what is exactly stated in Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization accords concerning the "integration" of tribal populations:

> **Article 2(c):** *"to create the possibility of national integration without means destined to artificially assimilate tribal populations."*
>
> **Article 4:** *"Excluded is the use of force or coercion with the object of integrating tribal populations."*
>
> **Article 12:** *"tribal populations will not be displaced from their territories without their free consent."*
>
> **Article 13:** *"when such displacement does occur under exceptional circumstances, the tribal populations will receive lands at least equal to those which they previously occupied."*

The President of FUNAI said, "The Indian is not a museum piece . . . for the pleasure of foreign anthropologists who know nothing about the national reality."

These criticisms were malicious and false. In truth, those who made them were actual enemies of the Indians, rather than those who were pre-occupied with the experience that the Xingu National Park represents. Never mentioned was the fact that throughout the world, the Xingu National Park has been praised as one of the most successful and humane forms of Indian protection in the entire history of the Americas.

– INDIGENA photo

A Wausha Man from the Amazon

Immediately following the invasion of the Xingu Park by the BR-80 Highway, one section of the Txucarramae people was displaced from its lands. At the same time, several ranches began to converge upon the northern limits of the Park, and a small town of Brazilian settlers grew up along the banks of the Xingu.

In November, 1973, several Txucarramae people entered the town and they were stricken by measles. The Brazilian press reported that more than a hundred Indians were ill, and four had already died. Out of desperation, Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas were forced to convince the Txucarramae chiefs to lead their remaining tribal members into the now-reduced limits of the Xingu National Park.

If we compare these dispositions with the facts previously cited, it becomes clear that there is nothing less than a basic contradiction between Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization and the Indian policy of Brazil.

Nevertheless, General Costa Cavalcanti has negated before the world that the Brazilian Government is practicing genocide against the Indians. What he overlooks the facts of what is happening to the Indians of Brazil, and the point that genocide is a perfectly defined concept in law.

"We have learned that Indians exist in North America and that they are fighting for their lives, their lands invaded by Americans. We are equal to you, your brothers. We are the same as you. We wish to give an opinion to you – that you must continue as you are, being Indians and not turning into Americans. I say this to you in my own language. You must defend your families and your people as we intend to defend our families and people and not allow the Brazilians to use them and take away our lands as well. This is all."

– Mearaweh
Kaibai Nation
Xingu National Park
Brazil, South America

*(This tape-recorded message was sent from **Brazil** to a conference on the genocide of his people, held in Washington, D.C., November 8, 1974, by concerned native people of North America, under the sponsorship of INDIGENA and various supporters.)*

The General Assembly of the United Nations, through Resolution No. 96 of December 11, 1946, declared that genocide is a crime against international law. *Article 2* of the Resolution, which is written into the Brazilian Penal Code, defines this crime as follows:

> **Article 2:** *"By means of the present accord, genocide is understood as any of the following acts, perpetrated with the intention of destroying, partially or totally, a national, ethnic, or religious group:*
>
> *a. to kill members of the group;*
>
> *b. to inflict grave damages on the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group;*
>
> *c. to intentionally submit the group to conditions of existence which forcibly produce their total or partial physical destruction;*
>
> *d. to adopt measures destined to impede births in the group;*
>
> *e. to forcibly transfer children from one group to another."*

Point (c) alone is enough to condemn the Indian policy of the Government of Brazil as decisively genocidal.

On December 19, 1973, General Garrastazu Medici signed the new "Indian Statute", a law which summarized the program of FUNAI concerning the destiny of the tribal minorities in Brazil.

Every law must be viewed in relation to the reality which it applies. Under present conditions, in which the occupation and development of the Amazon is taking place at an extremely rapid and destructive pace, a genuine concern for the survival of tribal communities should be reflected in a law which reinforces and militantly protects their rights to exist. Once such protection is affirmed, the law can then treat "integration."

Basic to the new Indian Statute is its emphasis upon the "rapid integration" of tribal populations. On signing the Statute, General Medici declared: "These cardinal objectives of the Statute consist precisely in the rapid and healthy [sic] integration of the Indian into civilization."

Further, the new Statute highlights the entrepreneurial philosophy assumed by FUNAI since 1967, including the increasing government interference in Indian properties and lands and the penetration of private businesses into tribal communities.

A number of other elements of the Statute are also important to mention. First, *Article 20* enables the Government "to intervene" in Indian areas for:

> *(a) "the imposition of national security"*
>
> *(b) "the realization of public works that are in the interest of national development,"*
>
> *(c) "for the exploitation of the subsoil wealth of relevant interest to national security and development."*

Indian groups, according to this article, are able to be "removed . . . from one area to another" for such projects as highway and reclamation construction, mining operations, or cattle and lumber enterprises. It is essentially a mandate for moving Indian peoples out of the way of any development, rather than protecting them in their legitimate rights to territory, resources, and land.

Second, President Medici vetoed Paragraph 2 of *Article 18* of the Statute which prohibited "third parties from contracting Indians for practices or activities such as hunting, fishing, and collection of fruits, and also agricultural activities, cattle raising, or extraction on Indian lands."

This veto not only provides an open field for the exploitation of Indian lands by private businesses, but provides a legal sanction for the conversion of Indians into a cheap and available labor force along the various interior "frontiers."

Third, *Article 9* of the Statute lists various conditions by which "any Indian is able to petition a competent judge for his liberation from tutelage, and bring him under the regime of civil law."

This seemingly liberal aspect of this article, in reality, abandons the position of recognizing Indians as a people apart. In place of an attempt to integrate and emancipate the tribal community as a whole, it stimulates the individual emancipation of the Indian, with the motive of extermination and disintegration of the group. True, some individuals will be "integrated", but into a process of inhuman oppression, where false promises will be used by economic groups to convince Indian youths that they should become slaves for the ranches and mines.

In summary, despite its liberal and modernizing tone, the new Indian Statute provides a mandate for the destruction of Indian communities in the name of "assimilation" and "integration." General Medici signed the Statute three months previous to the end of his government. On entering office as the new Minister of the Interior, General Mauricio Rangel Reis affirmed the new regime's support of the Statute, and declared: "Our policy is one of integrating the Indian population into Brazilian society in the shortest time possible."

Who Will Force An Accounting?

The situation of the Brazilian Indian today remains one of extreme gravity. They are being threatened now as never before. In the disguise of a new rhetoric, and through a series of false promises and lies, Indians continue to be systematically exterminated and destroyed.

Brazil has signed Resolution 96 of the United Nations which defines the crime of genocide and Resolution 107 of the International Labor Organization which limits and defines government actions that can be taken in the name of the "integration" of tribal minorities. It would be an act of supreme justice if the United Nations would petition the military government of Brazil to account for the situation of its Indians. A minute investigation must be made. Threatened tribes must be visited. Reliable witnesses, who exist, must be questioned. The Indian Policy of Brazil must again be judged by world opinion.

Brazil has promised before Humanity to preserve the remaining Indians who live in her territory. But the preservation of minorities is not a compromise of one nation alone. It is a compromise of all Humanity. . . .

[We are grateful to INDIGENA, Inc., for this information. INDIGENA sponsored an all-day press conference in Washington, D.C., November 8, concerning genocide in Brazil. The conference had a wide representation of native people present to launch a concerted campaign in supprot of the rights of Brazilian native peoples by world-wide organizations and individuals. The conference heard the presentation of documents dealing with the violation of Brazilian native rights by U.S. and other corporations, and of support of Brazil's destructive Indian policies by U.S. Government agencies.

[Speakers urged a reaffirmation of Brazilian native peoples, including land and cultural rights, and urged a campaign of opposition to the oppressive policy of "rapid forced integration". The U.S. press was also criticized and urged to take an active role in reporting upon Indian policy in Brazil and the actual nature of the occupation of the Amazon region, rather than accept the Brazilian Government's version of events in the Amazon, the myths of the Brazilian "economic miracle" and Brazil's Indian policies without sharply questioning the truth or the motives involved.

[Concerned persons are also asked to call for an investigation by the U.S. Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees of all aspects of U.S. aid, assistance, and investment programs in the Brazilian Amazon, and especially the role of U.S. agencies, programs, and corporations in the expropriation of Indian territories and lands.

[Plans are developing for a study of native conditions in Brazil by a select group of native people from North and South America. With their experience of the history of occupation of the North American continent, these persons are the most qualified to observe and testify about existing conditions.

[For further information, contact:]

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RACISM

FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA AND BACK: AMERICA EXPORTS ITS MYTHS

Radebul, East Germany – In this quiet leafy town of 41,000 persons stands a log cabin filled with relics of America's "wild west" – a museum of scalps and tomahawks that may be the most extensive in Europe on the North American Indian.

The museum attracts over 180,000 visitors annually, many of them children. The museum was opened in 1928, dedicated to Karl May, a highly inventive German author who won fame and fortune writing books about Indians, despite the fact that he never saw North America until the books had been written.

In fact, the books were written while May was in prison for petty theft on a seven-year sentence. He did massive research on Indian books for his sources. His books have been adapted to the movie screen and produced in Germany with American stars.

Most of the items in the museum were collected by a colorful American circus artist, Patty Frank, who after touring Europe with a wild west show, ran into financial trouble in the 1920s and sold the collection to Karl May's widow, Klara.

East Germany, while supporting the museum as a means of depicting the Indian's struggle for freedom against white imperialism, has banned all May's books on the grounds that they glorify imperialist ideals. However, the East German Government allowed part of the Karl May publishing house to move to West Germany in 1945 to continue publishing – with the profits flowing back to East Germany.

One of May's central figures in his 20 Indian books is a blond blue-eyed immigrant German frontiersman, Old Shatterhand. May said he included him to "show how we as superior beings should act [in America.]"

But the museum is being used to change those ideas. Museum officials say its aim now is to provide a better understanding of the centuries-old freedom struggle and the demands currently being made with increasing force by North American native people for unreserved recognition of their rights.

Unfortunately, while the museum may teach about imperialism, some of Karl May's stereotypes live on and make it difficult to teach about native peoples. Throughout Europe, there are hobbyists. Picture the scene:

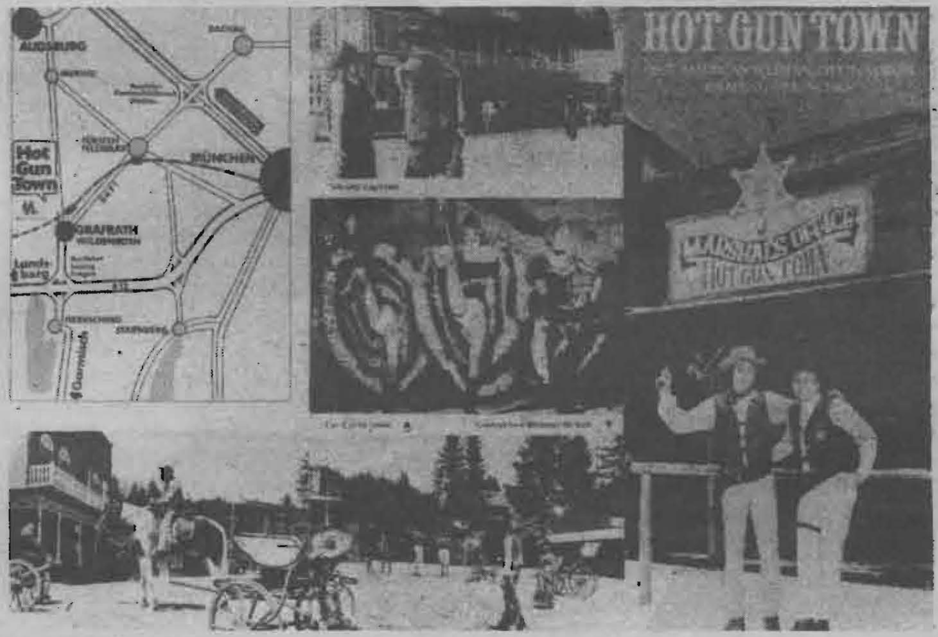
Tom-toms boom. War cries pierce the air. Trappers in buckskin watch an Indian "bear dance" while war-painted Indians watch cowboys shatter a wooden target with Bowie knives. The scene is in a West German meadow at a club meeting.

All of this is to the embarrassment of hard-working aware Germans trying to awaken consciousness and support for native causes. Much of *Akwesasne Notes* is translated in German, and over 400 copies of the English edition are distributed there, indicating serious study of North American contemporary happenings.

Perhaps it is the "wild west image" that prompted German-born U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to describe his diplomatic role as that of a cowboy who rides alone into town, aiming at the right spot at the right time.

Maybe sometime the Indians instead of the Cowboys – a la Kissinger – will determine world peace.

(Thanks to Colin MvIntyre of Reuters News Service, and Ernst Stadler of the Tuscon Daily Citizen for information used here.)



At left, an advertisement for Hot Gun Town, a German version of a cowboy town in the days America was wiping out Indians. Dreamed up by a German-American from Phoenix, the commercial venture went out ox existence last year when German residents of the area, offended by what they believed was the town's glorification of shooting and violence, burned it to the ground.

HOW OUR CHILDREN LEARN: GRADE SCHOOL HISTORY BOOKS KEEP THE FRONTIER ALIVE AND STRONG

San Francisco, California – Ever read your children's school history books?

A Houghton-Mifflin 1968 publication, *This Is America's Story*, is a popular eighth grade text by Wilder, Ludlum and Brown. It was analyzed by United Native Americans of San Francisco, with this list resulting:

– called savages on pages 116, 128, 184, and 144 ("hostile savages").

– p. 86: "Hostile Indians lurked in the surrounding forests, ready to attack the settlers at every opportunity."

– p. 314: "hostile Indians."

– p. 91: an old quotation: "wilderness full of wild beasts and wild men."

– p. 126: "The French, with their warlike Indian allies, made frequent raids on unprotected English settlements. Many a frontier settlement like Deerfield, Massachusetts, heard with terror the blood-curdling warwhoops of the Indians as they burst suddenly from the forest. Many a family grieved because a father or mother, sister of brother, fell victim to the cruel tomahawk or was carried into captivity."

– p. 120: Chapter begins with description of "Indian massacre" at Deerfield.

– Andrew Jackson chapter: No mention of Indian removal here, or Cherokee's Trail of Tears.

p. 431: "In the centuries that Indians had inhabited North America, they had done little to improve the country or advance their way of life. Should the Indian be allowed to stop settlement and progress? the white man asks. The more they suffered from Indian attacks, the stronger the frontiersmen felt that 'the only good Indian is a dead Indian.' " "White settlers lived in fear of the dreaded war whoops that signaled an attack."

– p. 312, 369: pictures of Indians attacking white settlements.

– p.441: To summarize Indians today, reference to the Hopi Snake Dance (seems weird.)

– implications that American history begins with the whites: p. 2: "Only Indian hunters inhabited this land . . . an untamed continent." p. 14: Unit I begins with story of Columbus landing: "It was the day when the story of America began." p.16: "The march of American history did not begin in this country, but in Europe." p. v: "Thousands of people have sensed the brave spirit of America's beginnings while visiting Mayflower II, a reconstruction."

– Indian persons mentioned by name: Montezuma, Pontiac's War, Tecumseh's War, Sacajawea, Altahualpa (Inca). White explorers mentioned by name: at least 22.

A FEW NOTES ON RACISM

Just inside the main entrance of the Hudson's Bay Company store in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan – a town with many native people in the area – stands a coin-oeprated machine called "The Indian Scout." A child-size hobby horse rocks when the machine is activated, and sitting astride the horse, a child uses a pistol to shoot at targets of Indians mounted on a nearby board. Points are awarded on the basis of the child's ability to "shoot the Indians." The Indians in the pictures carry no arms or weapons of any sort and are designated simply "Big Chief", "Little Chief", etc. Genocide can be fun!

* * *

St. Paul, Minnesota, is in many ways in the forefront in eliminating racism from its societal ways. Thus it is a surprise to find St. Paul Public Schools Title II programs approving Dan Frontier Goes Exploring, *a delightful children's story by William Hurley, and published by Benefic Press, Chicago. "BANG went Dan's gun, and down went the Indian over the side of the hill. "You got him," said Johnny. "Here comes another one," said Dan. BANG went Dan's gun again. Another big Indian went down." is the thrilling dialogue on page 93, for instance.*

* * *

A book which is intended to erase certain stereotypes about women is continuing the old stereotypes about native peoples. Not Enough Indians *by Betty Horvath, published in 1971 by Franklin Watts, Inc., is about a is about a young girl who finds that she too can play cowboys and Indians, joining white male supremicists in a role they have historically loved to play.*

Monroe, Michigan, has the dubious distinction of being the town General George A. Custer grew up in. It has a 40-foot bronze statue of the general standing in the center of the town. On July 13, an AIM solidarity conference marched on the monument. "He is one of the poorest examples of a hero for American youth," Jerome War Cloud told the gathering, explaining how the truth about Custer is suppressed in schools.

* * *

Racism in Europe: An article on "Indians in Schoolbooks in Denmark" was published last year in Dansk paedagrogisk tidsskrift, *an education journal. Co-author Joanna Johannesen, a Lakota, concluded that most Danish textbooks simply rely on three of four "official" U.S. textbooks and therefore produce, uncritically, a picture that is to justify 3 centuries of systematic destruction of Indian cultures. That, the article concludes, "is a point of view that is not good enough for Danish school-children."*

"The Great Price Massacre" starring a bevy of native people was the featured advertising of Shaw & Keeter Fordtown in Gainesville, Florida, a while ago. "Mr. S.K. does not believe in scalping his customers", the ad reads, offering "special massacre prices. The firm is at 3333 N. Main St. if anyone wants to say hello.

Missions in California seem to be once again exploiting native people. Billboards directing tourists to Mission San Miguel have been the targets of native protests. The signs show the large figure of a benevolent padre with one hand holding a cross upraised, and the other resting in a gesture of paternal guidance on the shoulder of a small native figure. Frederick Schantz of the Ethnic Studies Department at California Polytechnic said the billboards "communicate to native Americans and sensitive non-Indians [that] the larger-than-life Catholic missionaries bravely guided the smaller-than-life innocent and naked noble savages to Christianity, Clothing and Civilization." The letter the native group sent says that "Non-Christian Amerindian s feel that their religions are true as do the Christians, and do not display themselves as leading the Anglo people to the Amerindian way of believing."

* * *

Is the movie, "Tom Sawyer," going to play in your community? Warning: your children will see "Injun Joe, that murderin' half-breed". Evil eyes glare on the screen. Ominous music menaces. Children scream in terror. The only non-white adult in the film, super-evil Injun Joe is killed in a fiery finale as white audiences cheer. *Reader's Digest* likes it. Parents and educators who want to help innoculate their children against racism will want to obtain a discussion guide prepared by Foundation for Change, 1619 Broadway, 1802, New York, N.Y. 10019.

A Settlement Reached In The James Bay Dispute

Fort George, Cree Nation

– $75-million in cash over the first ten years.

– $75-million in royalties from hydroelectric projects over a longer period of time.

– a land settlement setting aside 2,000 square miles as a reserve for the Cree people, and an additional 25,000 square miles of territory for hunting, fishing, and trapping.

– relocation of the project's first dam at Mile 23 to Mile 54 of the LaGrande River.

– any plans for development must be discussed with the Cree people.

– negotiations are to take place to establish Cree school boards, police and health agencies.

– Montreal Star/Paul Taillefer photo

The Provisional Agreement is Signed: Judd Buchanan for Indian Affairs, Charlie Watt of Northern Quebec Inuit Association, Premier Robert Bourassa for Quebec, John Ciaccia, Quebec's negotiator; Jean Chretien, Canada's treasury board president; Chief Billy Diamond for the Grand Council of Cree.

In the circumstances, Billy Diamond said, it was the best his people could hope for.

He thought, even, it was the best deal Indian people had ever gotten in North America.

Others think that no amount of money would have been enough – not only for the benefit of native people, but for the benefit of life itself.

Billy Diamond, chief of the Rupert House Band of the Cree Nation, grand chief of the Cree Council in the area, spoke in grave tones as he outlined the agreement in principle under which the Cree and Inuit would suspend their challenge in the courts to Premier Robert Bourassa's cherished project of the century.

"We have removed the worst effects of the project," said Diamond, who was surrounded by several dozen native leaders. "We got the best engineers in the world to agree to move LG-1 [dam] from Mile 23 to Mile 54."

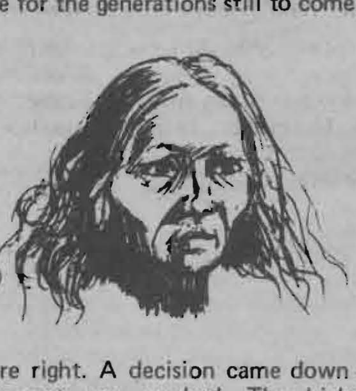
Now at least, he said, they would have a reservation on which they would have exclusive rights, plus a huge preserve for hunting and fishing, perhaps unaware that "huge preserves for hunting and fishing" set aside a century ago in Quebec were now suburbs and factories – no promise seems to last for long.

Many friends will find it hard to understand why the Cree and Inuit people chose to make a settlement of any sort with Quebec and Canada. The settlement does not reflect the native people's relationship with the land – what it does reflect is the brutal physical reality that the bulldozers are already clawing away at Mother Earth just a few miles away from Fort George.

Nor does the settlement have much to do with the native legal rights outlined in such stark and handsome terms by Mr. Justice Albert Malouf. True, the judge's findings gave the impetus for the Quebec Government to begin serious efforts at negotiation. But legal rights played little role at the bargaining table. It was a simple matter – the native people wanted to save as much as they could of what little they had left, and the negotiators for the province wanted to pay as little as possible and still create an appearance of justice before political pressure developed against them.

So it wasn't justice the Crees received, but the political reality of the bulldozer. Their aboriginal rights weren't recognized, but political convenience was served.

Albert Diamond, band manager at Rupert House, stresses the need to get the final settlement spelled out in detail rather than principle. He, like the others, understood that the Appeal Court would likely overturn Judge Malouf's decision. If that happened, they might receive nothing. The Cree and Inuit people used what little advantage they had like short-term credit to buy now what they hope will be an insurance against the future for the generations still to come.



They were right. A decision came down a week after the agreement was reached. The highest court in Quebec ruled against the native people, and only the Supreme Court of Canada could reverse that stand.

How Colonialism Continues On

It's certain that the Creator planted the Cree in the James Bay area before the Hudson Bay Company got there. Quebec acquired its British-style title to the land when the HBC sold its claim to Canada for 300,000 pounds in 1870. Canada then gave what is now the middle portion of Quebec to the province in 1870, and the more northern portion in 1912. In both cases, it was clearly stipulated in the legislation making the transfer – as were similar transfers in Ontario – that the province, had the responsibility to take care of settling native claims. Ontario completed the task in the 1920s, but in Quebec this was never done.

The meaning of the 1971 order-in-council and the 1912 Boundary Extension Act has been hotly debated. Perhaps now it doesn't make any difference. Judge Malouf was of the view that the James Bay Development Corporation and its two years of construction is illegal and beyond the power of the province until the land claims of native people have been settled. His eloquent judgment says there was enough merit for the native claim that there should be a temporary injunction forbidding further construction until either the settlement was completed, or a full trial was held for a permanent injunction.

The Quebec Appeals Court didn't rule on the whole judgment or whether a permanent injunction could or could not be granted – but it did lift the temporary injunction and work on the project continued without losing a jackhammer's beat.

On November 22, though, the Appeals Court came back with another ruling saying that the rights of the Cree People to their land were unclear and the entire substance of the Malouf judgment was challenged.

In fact, the Appeals Court ruled that the Inuit didn't have any rights of land. They said that the relationships people have with the land, how long they have been there, the spiritual condition by which the people live on the land, or other realities didn't make any legal difference. All that mattered, they said, was that the Crown of England, the Crown of Canada, and the Crown of Quebec had never chosen to define the rights of the Cree clearly enough, and hadn't even mentioned the Inuit – therefore they had no legal rights.

Although witnesses in Quebec courts give an oath to God to tell the truth, obviously the Creator has no standing in law in the courts of Quebec.

So, it's Catch 22 for the Inuit: the Court says that since there were no treaties between them and the Crown, they don't have any rights. And since they don't have any rights, they don't have any claim to make a treaty with.

The Government That Wasn't There

Despite Canada's legislated insistence that Quebec deal with the native people before it had rights to the James Bay lands, the Canadian Government chose not to be represented in any of the court proceedings.

That not only meant lack of the Government's legal machinery and prestige, but lack of support for the principal native legal argument. In Canada, legislatures can do pretty well what they want – there is only a division of power between federal and provincial legislatures, and there are few higher principles, such as a constitution, that impose limits on the lawmakers. The result is that the native people had to fight in court not on the basis that they had rights, but that the federal government, not the province, was the proper agent to remove their rights.

That is, the native people had to forego the argument that they were the holders of the land, and argue instead that the wrong legislature was usurping their rights.

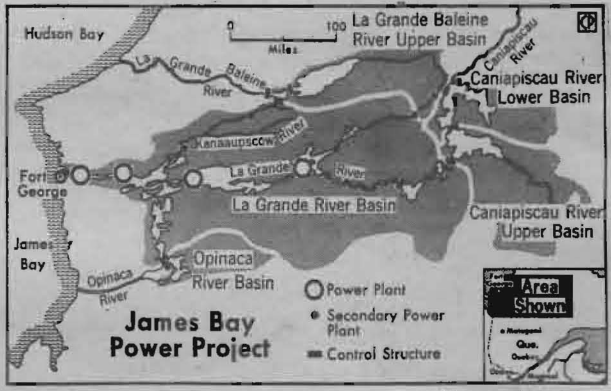
The excuse that the minister of Indian Affairs at the time, Jean Chretien, gave for not participating in the suit was that he didn't want to be paternalistic – the native people could do well enough without the Great White Father, he said.

"The fact is that the bloody case should never have been in court," explodes Boyce Richardson, a journalist and film-maker who has followed the entire proceedings. "The Indians were forced into court to defend themselves. It was only when they got into court that the project was ever subjected to public examination – it wasn't a forum in which that public examination should have been done."

Richardson also says what most people have yet to see: the problem falls on the laps of Canadians. "People in New England want to have the benefits of electricity and to double their consumption every ten years without having any of the disadvantages," Richardson says of the cause of the problem." [They] don't want their communities spoiled by having big dams built and they have stopped Consolidated Edison from doing it. The result is that the dams are being built in the lands of the Cree because everybody thought they couldn't defend themselves."

The James Bay project and the struggle of the Cree and Inuit is a classic example of metropolitanism, a new kind of colonialism that pretends that the lands of one people have been incorporated into the territory of some other state. England, at least, was up front about her colonies – she called them just that. But the Crees are asked to make sacrifices so that "all people of Quebec can benefit."

Metropolitanism obscures the basic reality of colonialism not only for those who live with that reality every day, but also mystifies it for those who live in the heartland of the colonizing power.



– Montreal Gazette

Four Dams Will Block The Rivers

"I used to think there wasn't enough information," Boyce Richardson says. "I now believe that the way information and its distribution is chaotic is a deliberate try to confuse people so that they won't know whether they're on their ass or their elbow."

Still, the attitude that what you wouldn't want in your own backyard should be put in your neighbor's yard if it will benefit you, is the point from which the relationship of people of the metropolis with people of the land festers.

"James Bay grows out of an urban problem for the Canadian [and North American] society," Richardson says. "And the burden of opposing it and trying to teach the Canadian [and North American] society about this project and what it will mean has fallen on the Cree and Inuit peoples. Now that shows you what a sick situation it is."

Spence feels that things could have been different. "I'm convinced that if there had been a strong public outcry against the project on moral, environmental, and economic ground, the project would have been canned."

Billy Diamond told the press when the agreement was announced, "Many of our non-Indian friends will call us sell-outs. But we are 6,000 against 6,000,000." He stressed that they had succeeded in gaining recognition of rights they already had: for hunting, fishing, and trapping.

But later, in a telephone interview, Billy Diamond admitted that there was no way of knowing what effect the project would have on the game. What good are hunting and fishing rights if the game and fish are destroyed?

Asked if he was happy with the agreement, Billy Diamond was quick to say, "Neither side is happy with

the agreement. We are not happy to give up our lands. They are not happy to recognize our rights. We did the best we could."

Change: Inevitable or Contrived?

Only a decade ago, the Cree and the four-legged and flying and swimming creatures were alone together in the North. Now, railroads, aircraft, and highways criss-cross the land and high water prevents waterfowl and beaver from feeding and the fish can't spawn when the water is low.

Some say that change was inevitable, and that the Cree would soon give up their life in the bush anyway. But over 50% of the people who now are in the bush have been to the south to school. They have come back to the ways of their people by their own choice.

For them, the $150-million in the new agreement is of little interest.

"The 'battle' against James Bay has been a farce," Richardson asserts. "Apart from the Indians' fight, there has been nothing to it. There's been a tiny, handful of people who have succeeded in very little, really, because of the value system of the society. The society wants [the project] and doesn't even care if it's well done."

Following the agreement signing, for whatever that was worth, a "victory dinner" was held with participants from all parties. During the round of interminable toasts, James O'Reilly, lawyer for the Grand Council of the Cree, referred repeatedly to "my friends at the James Bay Corporation."

What Dams Do To A River

John Spence is one of the few people in North America who has seriously studied what dams do to the life of a river. When the James Bay Project was announced, he was asked to work with the Cree so that they might share their knowledge of the river with one another.

Although the moving of the LG-1 dam and the introduction of certain environmental controls are seen as important concessions, he still points out that the project as a whole is a total disaster – for all living things. Spence says the project was planned with one consideration in mind – how to get as many megawatts out for as little money possible, regardless of what other costs might be borne and regardless of who might have to bear them.

"Environmental impact as far as Hydro Quebec is concerned doesn't count," he adds. "James Bay always was and always will be a great disaster, a great blunder."

"Bourassa had to have a project," Spence points out. "The native people could have done no better – if they had gone on holding out, they would have been steam-rollered."

A citizens group, The James Bay Committee, has made a valiant effort to raise public consciousness in the south, but apparently, it hasn't made the slightest dent. "The southern public doesn't give a damn about anything that doesn't affect them personally – if this were a park that they go to for their holidays, you would have heard a big outcry," Spence believes. "If it's only 6,000 Indians, then there's a shrug of the shoulders and a nod of regret."

Perhaps when the final chapters of the tragedy are being written, the people of Canada will lament, "We didn't know."

But the unknowing does not come from lack of information – it comes from an absence of any natural and humane relationship with the lands and people who have been asked to give so much to the new metropolis "for the common good."

There are three categories of land described in the general agreement. Category 1 is the reserves and Inuit townsites. Category 2 allows for 25,000 square miles of land for the Cree and 35,000 for the Inuit north of the 55th parallel. On this land, the native people will have control over land use, i.e., exclusive rights to hunt and fish and trap. On the other hand, these rights are not strictly guaranteed beyond an agreement to compensate any future loss of land with replacement land – or cash.

The Mistassini band alone already traps over 60,000 square miles. Their lands will be reduced to 7,000 square miles. While some of the rest will be accessible to them, at least for the time being, it is clear that the Mistassini people are losing a lot of land and are not happy about it.

The Government points out that all the Indian Reserve land in Canada has been no more than 6,000,000 acres, while the combination of categories 1 and 2 will comprise 40,000,000 acres. But this comparison is unreal, for Category 2 is nothing more than "unoccupied Crown lands" on which the Government will have to compensate the native people if it removes their rights.

On all the rest of the land, non-natives will be allowed to hunt and fish. The only exclusive right retained by native people on the land on which they were planted is the right to trap. These lands, Category 3, will be regulated by a coordinating committee composed of an equal number of native and government people with an alternating chairmanship. A few of their decisions will be binding on the government. But other recommendations are not binding and can be vetoed by the appropriate cabinet minister.

The main way that the Inuit portion of the settlement differs from the Cree is that while the Cree will set up reserves around their villages and be governed by the Federal Indian Act, the Inuit lands will be recognized as local municipalities governed under Quebec law.

In the past, when there were problems or needs, the Inuit were told by Quebec to go to Ottawa for help. The two governments fought over who didn't have jurisdiction. But more recently, Quebec has wanted jurisdiction and has wooed native peoples in the north – it is a small price to pay to gain access to their land and their wealth.

The third choice – other than federal or provincial control – of a truly autonomous native authority was not seriously fought for. The thought has been perished by the colonial governments, and while the idea has been gaining ground among southern native leaders, a people beseiged and struggling to hold onto what they can, can hardly be expected to dabble in theoretical politics.

Keith Crow, a negotiator for NQIA, says, "By having a voice in an elected regional government, hopefully a majority voice, they will do better than [having protected enclaves.] If you don't take federal reserves, then anything else is provincial. If you've no say over anything outside your enclave, then you find yourself in the position of some [reservation] peoples – they have control over what goes on in the reserves, but nothing in between. The Inuit wanted to have, for as long as they could, a handle on what happens over the whole country."

The debate over what might have been will go on for a long time. With little support from the European peoples living in Canada, the northern natives could not ask "which is best." Instead, they had to ask, "How can we hold on for as long as possible?"

Outsiders cannot quarrel with their choices. Instead, belatedly, outside peoples could apply the pressures to see that the northern native peoples get the most from what they got.

It is likely that the Crees and Inuit will go through the formality of filing for a Supreme Court of Canada appeal just to keep the matter alive while negotiations are going on. If, by November 1975 no satisfactory conclusion has been reached, the Supreme Court could be asked to give a ruling. They hope they can get the land question settled before delving into the more knotty problems of native rights.

Wally Firth, Member of Parliament for the Northwest Territories, says that he thinks James Bay "may not prove to be a very good settlement at all." He compared the James Bay settlement to the Alaskan settlement, saying that within a year of signing the Alaskan bill had provided more benefit to lawyers and consultants figuring out what it said than to those who had to live with its provisions.

The Cree had started the court action as members of the Quebec Indian Association, but when Judge Malouf found the IQA did not have any standing in the court, the Cree withdrew and formed the Grand Council of the Cree. The IQA was asked to stand by in an advisory role. The council was incorporated August 16. It will be administered by a 16-member board of directors, including each of the eight band chiefs and eight others selected by band members from Fort George, Great Whale, Paint Hills, Eastmain, Rupert House, Nemaska, Mistassini, and Waswannipi.

Billy Diamond says the Cree will retain membership in the IQA, but he admits that Cree leaders have been impatient with the IQA leadership for some time. "There were times we just couldn't see any results from the IQA negotiations with the government," he says. "It was just as if the IQA was standing by, watching a fire burn and talking about the 99 different ways to put it out – meanwhile, the fire was still burning. While they were talking, the project was still being built."

The native negotiators were young. For the Inuit, the eldest was 25; for the Cree, 35. What they wanted to protect was the old way of life. And for that, the prime question is land.

A New Trend in Government Thinking?

At least on paper, the agreement represents a significantly new and different direction for government thinking in North America. Federal policy throughout the Northwest Territories, echoed by provincial polices across northern Canada, has been to force native peoples away from their traditional economies by making it as difficult as possible to hunt and trap in order to open the lands for southern development. Welfare payments have appeared a small price to pay for turning native people into consumers in the Canadian economy, and for clearing the way to exploit mineral wealth and other resources for southern corporations.

A priest who began to tour the hunting camps in the Fort Good Hope region twenty years ago by dog sled then needed all the time from October to May to reach each family. The year before last there were four families hunting in the same region – all the rest are on welfare. This is an example of a whole economy

(continued on next page)

BOYCE RETURNS HOME ....

Boyce Richardson is returning to New Zealand. He has been deeply moved by his involvement with the James Bay Project and the Cree and Inuit. Boyce has been a long-time friend of AKWESASNE NOTES, as well as of the Cree people whose struggle he has portrayed so well in print, tape and film. Richardson impresses native people as a fine and sensitive person who has allowed his self to be truly touched by the wisdom of the people on whose land he walked.

"There's no doubt the James Bay project is going to be built and it's a horrible abortion. People in 25 years are going to say, 'How could anyone have built this goddam thing?' But there seems to be little anyone can do to effect this sort of thing.

The government here seems to have decided these huge cities of the future are inevitable. I don't think Canada is really subject to public reaction any more. You've got these huge movements to the city – and there doesn't seem to be any way of stopping it. The government doesn't seem to have the will to stop it. They just seem to assume it is inevitable.

"Personally, I can't see life getting any better in Canada. The huge resources they are selling off – a tremendous kind of cowardly sell-out. If indeed $28-billion dollars is going to be invested in James Bay, what they are doing is taking glorious wild rivers, harnessing the power, and putting it into little blocks of uranium to send over to France. There's just no sense in that at all."

Boyce also talks about Canadian schools and how the lives of his children are being distorted to fit the needs of the system – the discrimination facing his black son, the condescension facing any child not brought up to fit the prescribed middle-class mold, and that schools are "just training them to be check-out clerks at Steinberg's." Boyce has found out what native people have known for so long, but which so few Europeans seem willing to see.

"I regard nearly everything I've done as a sort of a failure," Boyce says. "I've influenced a few people, but basically the bloody system goes on with a few modifications to it."

But for our part, we will miss him. Almost all of the early coverage of James Bay in newspapers came from his hand. His latest film, after Job's Garden *and* Cree Hunters of Mistassini, *is* Our Land Is Our Life *was released by the National Film Board of Canada after considerable resistance from Indian Affairs who insisted there were factual errors until they were asked to specifically identify the errors.* Job's Garden *was kept off the CBC for months after it needed to be shown to explain how a Cree hunter sees his world.*

We commend Boyce Richardson to our Maori brothers in New Zealand. Peace to them, and to him as he seeks out his own roots.

undermined as deliberately as the destruction of the buffalo because southern bureaucrats did not believe that the native and natural way of life was any longer viable.

Real northern development could only happen with native control: things like community-controlled schools with a calendar of classes designed to accommodate the natural seasons of the north. A flying doctor service. Guaranteed prices for furs. There is a whole list of ways in which northern native people have said they could use to improve their own lives without disrupting them. In return, they can provide goods to the south which southern people want. But nothing like this has happened in any substantial way.

An example of this occurred this autumn as the Inuit of Northern Quebec presented a brief to the federal government asking for funds to operate their own radio network to link up their eleven communities along the coasts of James and Ungava Bays with a single strong short-wave transmitter to reach the south for emergency purposes. The cost is a fraction of what it cost to put the Anik satellite into orbit – a communications brainchild of the south to give the Inuit soap-operas. In effect, the people in the larger villages were offered color TV if they stay at home – while trappers on their line were denied basic short-range radio for emergency use.

The Controversial Mr. Anik

Technically, the proposed system would be FM broadcast, and there would be a portable radio transmitter system for hunters in distress. A high frequency radio-telephone system would supplement the two telephone circuits on the domestic Anik satellite.

Protests against Anik – a satellite used by radio and television stations in the North – have been bitter. It allows southern broadcasters to feed the people of the North – mostly Indians, Inuit and Metis – a schedule of programs made by and for white people. Although there was the promise of local service, it will be skimpy. The Arctic people had shown no hunger for hot-off-the-wire network shows which are the main initial benefit of the satellite, preferring instead local shows on a simpler system.

With Anik, local programming would mean people would hear their own language about an hour a day at the most, and English or French the rest of the time. The system the native people wanted instead of Anik would have been cheaper, more wide-spread, and of much more value.

The House of Commons Northern Affairs Committee supported the Inuit broadcasts in its session October 31, and Laurent Picard, president of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, a Crown corporation, agreed to further talks on the subject.

The Inuit position is that it needs increased communications among its own communities rather than more cultural pollution from the South. They want broadcasts from eleven antennas, and improved radio-telephone service. The cost would not be greater than that of the two television stations which the CBC has already asked the Canadian Radio-Television Commission to permit in Great Whale River and Fort Chimo.

The Northern Quebec Inuit Association charged that it had not been consulted by the CBC when the applications were made, causing the CRTC to suspend decision on the applications until talks could be held.

The NQIA say the talks broke down because of the "insulting tone" used by CBC officials.

Members of the Northern Affairs Committee threatened to call CBC officials on the carpet unless there was prompt and concrete action to insure that the Inuit wishes are upheld. Three years ago the committee had urged in a special report on education that the CBC begin native language broadcasting, and this has not been done yet.

Officials of NQIA say that native language programming is a must if the Inuit are to be able to control their own education and programs.

At the time of the main dispute over Anik a few years ago, James Gilmore, CBC's vice-president in charge of planning, said that it was necessary for Canada to put the satellite up then or American interests would take that orbit space. "If we didn't do this now, contemplate what would happen if an American satellite fed all three U.S. commercial networks into the North. If we hadn't put up Anik now, five years from now we'd be shot as being traitors to the country."

To the Inuit and other native people of the North, however, the difference would have been little – either way would mean the use of powerful media to propagate a foreign culture.

Josepi Radlayat had told the CRTC that most of the people who would watch the television would be native people. He said the handful of whites who were in residence "stayed long enough only to make some money".

For native peoples, Anik has meant watching Archie Bunker and I Love Lucy and news about Toronto traffic jams caused by crippling six-inch snowfalls.

CBC's views have often been arrogant to native sentiment. Yellowknife station manager Gordon Frederick defended the lack of Slavey language broadcasting from his station by saying that 70% of the Slavey people spoke English, and anyhow, "my responsibility is to the bulk of my listeners, not to the segregated groups." This view applies only to native languages, apparently, for the CBC carries French language broadcasts in many parts of the country for enclaves of Francophones living across Canada.

Alaska already has moved toward development of an operational communications system based on Anik consisting of 50 communications ground stations linked through the satellite. Ed Parker of the University of California, a technical expert who developed the system, says, "People of the North do not want a system of extremely high quality – they just want one that works." The Alaskan stations are used for medical aid by paramedics linked with professional staffs, as well as for one-to-one communication.

When Anik was first launched, Eric Gourdeau, an economist and engineer who led a task force that spent 18 months studying communications in the Canadian North for the Arctic Institute of North America, warned that Anik "could lead to cultural genocide."

Tagak Curley, president of Inuit Tapirisat said that "Southern style advertising may not be in the best interests of our children." Inuit people also noted there was no provision for using Anik to inform the South about the North – communications was one way. Curley said he wanted two-way communications so southern people would 'know we're not all living in igloos."

Four federal departments are now involved in the negotiations. The Justice Department is looking after Canada's legal questions. The National Revenue is looking out for taxation. Environment is checking out ecology and migratory birds. Indian Affairs and Northern Development is the chief department involved.

The Canadian Government did not really become involved in the negotiations which have gone on for over the last year. Jean Chretien attended some of the early sessions at which he tried to push a quick settlement. The federal people insisted on being mere observers, although when a demand was made, such as having Canada pay for half of the cash settlement, they expressed strong negative views.

At one point, the native people said the agreement should include some lands which the Canadian Government now holds for such things as weather stations. But the Canadian representatives made it clear that they would not relinquish any lands. On the other hand, Ottawa spokesmen were finally willing to pick up half the tab for the cash settlement, although the province stands to be the sole beneficiary of the rights surrendered by the native people. It was exactly this situation that the Parliament had tried to avoid in 1912 when it passed the act requiring the province to settle the matter.

Ottawa has not been too willing to displease Quebec, however, and after a short period of squaring off, the federal cabinet agreed to oblige the Quebec demands. The Bourassa Government has had the strong and unconditional support of the federal Liberal Government ever since the crisis of October, 1970, when the British Trade Commissioner and the deputy Prime Minister were kidnapped. Both federal and provincial administrations have been dedicated to stamping out all forms of independence movements among the people of Quebec. Federal support for the Bourassa regime has been guaranteed because it has been the only provincial party unconditionally pro-federalist.

It was less than a year after this FLQ kidnapping crisis that Bourassa announced the James Bay Project at a Liberal Party rally. He had been elected on the promise of 100,000 new jobs, and the scheme was necessary for him to be able to produce. Now, it seems, that at the height of construction, the project will never provide more than 3,000 jobs – and few, if any, of these are for native workmen.

CBC's attitude also has angered Nick Sibbeston, an elected member of the Northwest Territorial Council. "It's men like you who cause revolutions," CBC vice-president Marcel Ouimet was told by Sibbeston in an angry clash. "The CBC is a white man's system." During the exchange, Sibbeston broke into the Slavey language, and Ouimet countered in French. Sibbeston then answered him in French, and challenged angrily, "Come back in Slavey, why don't you?"

The Environment: Consultation or Control?

Until now, the Canadian Department of the Environment has given little or no cooperation to studying the environmental effects of the James Bay Project. For what it's worth, the newly-signed agreement requires that the Cree be allowed to participate in whatever environmental studies Canada or Quebec decides to do. However, the James Bay Development Corporation officials can still proceed to override or follow the study recommendations. Much of the expert evidence on environmental problems caused by the project had to be re-developed by the native people for their lengthy recent court hearing because of the refusal of federal environmental people to release what they had in their files.

Whatever agreement is finally worked out between the negotiators will be passed into legislation by both federal and provincial parliaments.

After harping for two years that the Government had not supported native rights, opposition members would have difficulty in rationalizing a bill in which the native negotiators had concurred. "Our main worry," says Albert Diamond, "is the amount of time that might elapse before they do it – the preliminary indications are that it could take two to three years." The Parliament can move more swiftly, of course, for it has been known to pass bills forcing railway workers back to their jobs inside of three days.

The agreement-in-principle commits the Canadian Government to paying $32.75-million of the $150-million to be paid out over the next ten years.

With All Due Deliberation

Native people usually make decisions slowly and without haste. Decisions are announced when it is sensed that general agreement has been reached. And the height of the trapping season is not the time for people to make major political decisions.

The native associations involved in negotiations had to hire helicopters, pull people off their traplines for a seven hour meeting, and fly them back in. Decisions have to be made fast – and after all that trouble and expense, certainly the native negotiators expected their people to agree with them. Still, the negotiators left it up to the people to decide.

The negotiators travelled around from settlement to settlement, spending two nights in each one, meeting half the night. "It had to be explained over again each time," Albert Diamond said. "We told them, 'Listen – this is it. The way we think, we won't tell you. We don't really give you our opinion. We want to hear what you have to say about it.' Some of the implications were explained. An outright refusal could mean just a court battle. That could take a long time too. This was explained to them.

Diamond said that equally difficult a task was convincing provincial officials that certain changes had to be made in the project, like moving a dam back 33 miles. "Trying to convince the Development Corporation to maintain flow in the Eastmain River was quite difficult – they were going to block up the whole river and just bring it down the La Grande. The other thing was trying to get some of the reservoirs cleared before flooding – the amount has not been settled, but the agreement says a substantial amount will be cleared." The Cree have the right of first refusal to bid on the contracts for clearing, but as far as ordinary construction employment, the Cree said they weren't interested.

The Garden of the Cree

In summer, seen fromthe air on the flight north to Fort George, the land spreads flat and purple-green. On the forest carpet, like droplets from some great accidental spill, are lakes and streams in the millions – so many that most remain unnamed, even by the Cree. In this hard northern country, the dependence of life othe waterways is more starkly apparent than it might be in other climates and terrains. In the rivers and lakes are the microscopic beginnings of the long food chains that reach to the fish and the beaver, to the seals of James and Hudson Bays, and through all these to the people.

The natural fluctuations of the water's level with the year's seasons has created over the centuries narrow edges of alluvial, or floodland, habitat along the shoreline, vegetation rich by comparison to the lichens and trees in the rest of the northern woods. Here, by the rivers, the aquatic mammals of the region abound, like beaver which provides Cree trappers a third of their food in the bush. Here are the sedge grasses where the fowl return each year to feed and nest, and perhaps it is on the earthmap of these rivers that the birds find their way as they fly this circuit again and again.

The caribou seem to spend a good deal of time out on the ice in the winters, and in their migration routes and choice of calving places, they too go by some long-fixed pattern which no doubt the paths of the rivers help to form. To the people as well, the rivers are highways, by canoe in the whisp of a summer, and by snowshoe and dogsled and skidoo. These things have been for longer than anyone remembers.

Against the wild and gentle nature of these cycles, the dams and dikes of the LaGrande Complex will impose a regime of water storage and release that will render this wetland habitat unrecognizable. The spring flood that spreads nutrients to the plant life in the alluvial area, replenishing some lakes which are not connected to the river systems at any other time of year, and by chain reaction hastens the breakup of ice on James and Hudson Bays, will be caught behind walls of rock, sand and gravel taken from what the neighborly engineers like to call "borrow areas" gouged out of the earth nearby.

Upstream of these control structures, existing lakes and riverbeds, and the land adjacent to them, will fill over time so that the 9600-square-mile area now covered by water will be increased one-third again. The surfaces of these water impoundments will be broken by the dead tops of drowned forests, and in the first years, the decomposition of submerged vegetation will alter the chemistry of the water, depleting the supply of oxygen, for example, which can be expected to suffocate fish and other aquatic populations.

In the lower reaches of those rivers whose waters are diverted into the LaGrande, the alluvial habitat of the shoreline will virtually dry up, as will the rapids and shallows that provide feeding and spawning places for many species of fish, since the flow in these rivers will be reduced to that provided by their downstream tributaries only.

Then, to meet peak electric power demands in the far-away south, different volumes of water will be let through the turbines from time to time, and these "drawdowns" will cause fluctuations of up to forty feet in the depth of the reservoirs, exposing broad strips of muddy shoreline and inundating whatever plant life has begun to take hold as the impoundments fill once again. These variations in water depth will have serious effects on the animal life, like the beaver which depend on a constant water level as protection for the lodges they build behind their dams.

The destructive possibilities go on queing up around the corner and out of sight. Yet the James Bay developers summon the proud self-assurance of modern technology to meet the cries of danger. "We recognize the fact that we are going to affect the environment," says Guy Lefebvre, public relations man for the project. "But affecting the environment doesn't necessarily mean deterioration of the environment. It could very well mean an improvement."

The destruction coming to James Bay is manufactured by Bechtel Corporation, a U.S.-based firm which did all kinds of work in Vietnam for the U.S. Government. The former head of the James Bay Development Corporation, Pierre Nadeau, says that other bids for the project weren't even considered – the deal was "precooked, signed, sealed, and delivered," he said.

Nadeau first met representatives of the firm at a January, 1972, secret meeting in New York. The firm was convicted in New Jersey the same year on charges of conspiring to bribe public officials. Nadeau resigned just 25 days before a contract was to be signed. He said that the government "knew I wouldn't get my hands dirty."

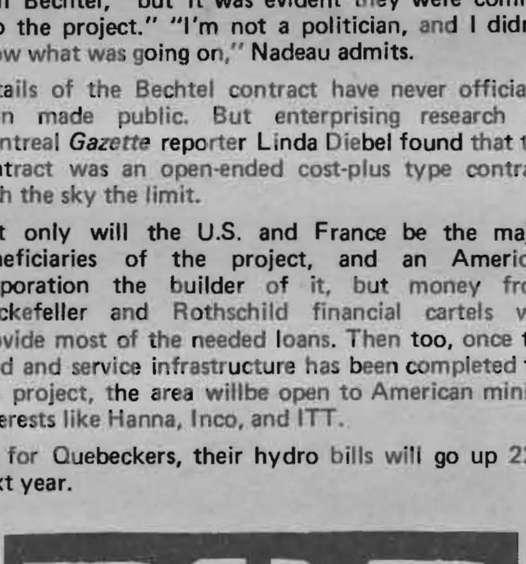
Nadeau said the James Bay Energy Corporation directors were flown to New York in a Bechtel plane. Nadeau said that at that first meeting, a verbal explanation about how the project would be done was given by the firm's chief executive, Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr. "I was president of the JBEC and I heard nothing at all personally from Bechtel before this," Nadeau explains, wondering how that could be true. He said James Bay officials wanted to do business with Bechtel because that project needed a good deal of money and "Bechtel has good standing in the financial world."

Nadeau said that throughout the following eight months he rejected outright every proposed contract with Bechtel, "but it was evident they were coming into the project." "I'm not a politician, and I didn't know what was going on," Nadeau admits.

Details of the Bechtel contract have never officially been made public. But enterprising research by Montreal *Gazette* reporter Linda Diebel found that the contract was an open-ended cost-plus type contract with the sky the limit.

Not only will the U.S. and France be the major beneficiaries of the project, and an American corporation the builder of it, but money from Rockefeller and Rothschild financial cartels will provide most of the needed loans. Then too, once the road and service infrastructure has been completed for the project, the area willbe open to American mining interests like Hanna, Inco, and ITT.

As for Quebeckers, their hydro bills will go up 22% next year.



The agreement in principle is no more than a bare bones which must be fleshed out, hopefully in as much detail as possible in the next year.

"There are those [non-natives] who will firmly believe that we are selling out. Among our own people, there are those who said our position on certain points should have been a little stronger. But we bargained using the best we had. As far as we are concerned, this is the best we could do," Diamond explains.

Considering that in 1971 the province was hardly willing to exist the native people existed, it was an improvement. And compared with any settlement made before with native people anywhere, it is the best yet. That is, if it is all honored.

"I don't know if it's worth a row of beans," says Boyce Richardson. "The project is going to be built. The James Bay Project is a gigantic and massive offensive against the nature on which the native life depends. You can't really say whether this thing is going to work or not [even if the agreement is kept]. What you can say is that the Indians have gained certain controls that have never been gained before and it remains to be seen how it works."

Much of the enforcing of the legislation and prohibition against non-native hunters will be left to the Cree. That could mean a new high standard of law enforcement in Canada – or if independent funds for this purpose are not supplied, it could mean little.

According to the agreement, for instance, a mine wishing to move into the north will have to submit a complete plan of its activities, including plans for restoration, to the coordinating committee on which the Grand Council will hold a balance of power. If the plan is approved, the Grand Council would then have to enforce it, prosecuting violations. If the mining companies have more resources and political clout than the Crees, the end result could be that they will operate as they do now – with little restriction.

And so the list of "ifs" grows larger: will detailed negotiations support the current optimism? Will sufficient authority be given to the native peoples? And what of the conflict between what is set on paper and the known attitude of the Quebec and Canadian Governments reflected both in their conduct during the brief history of the James Bay Project or their longer histories in North America?

Perhaps part of the final result will be another "if" – if there is support from the Canadian people to the south, it could work out. And if not – well, chalk up another one to experience.

The Cree and Inuit will be better off than most native peoples in Canada, legally. At least their agreement will be passed into law by the Parliament, whereas most treaties are simply gentlemen's agreements that the Parliament has yet to recognize. On the other hand, the same rule of supremacy prevails – either parliament could repeal its undertakings unilaterally at any time.

Atomic Energy Already Enters In

The quality of the intent with which the Bourassa Government has entered into this agreement in principle with the Cree and the Inuit people can best be seen in that it made a uranium enrichment proposal for the area at about the same time.

Until October, Bourassa pretended that none of the hydro power of James Bay was for export. Meanwhile, he was signing contracts to supply New York and New England with power from every other source in Quebec.

Then on November 20, four days after the big "victory party", Bourassa announced plans to install uranium enrichment plants which will use large amounts of James Bay power to produce enriched nuclear fuel for export to France. This metropolitan relationship is not just of Montreal to Fort George, but of Boston, New York and Paris to the Cree and Inuit nations.

The kind of nuclear reactor which has been developed by most European countries uses a light-water reactor with enriched uranium fuel. To enrich the uranium, there is a need for a huge supply of very cheap energy which is simply not available anywhere in western Europe.

Conceivably, if France needed the job done, and if the Cree would be willing to allow the job to be done on their lands, an agreement could have been signed between them with the Cree standing to profit handsomely. As it is, Quebec City has signed the agreement with Paris, and although there will be some payment to the native people, essentially both the option, control, and the resources have been taken from their hands.

So, at the time that the province had agreed that the Cree would impose the most strict environmental controls in North America on their newly-acknowledged lands, the province offered France the opportunity to acquire uranium enriched by James Bay power plants on James Bay lands.

Not only does France not have the power to do the job, but it wouldn't want the project on its soil anyway. Radioactive wastes from this process are very hot and not readily disposed of. Nobody knows how to handle the wastes or how to control them.

According to the June, 1974, issue of the specialized British magazine, *Nuclear Engineering International,"* the uranium enrichment idea for transporting Canadian power to Europe and the U.S. will not just happen at James Bay, but in a series of 19 such plants near every major hydro-development either existing or on the drawing boards.

(continued on next page)

Plans are being executed now on the Churchill, Nelson, and Saskatchewan Rivers, and on the South Indian Lake. Another project covering about 100,000 square miles is planned for the Stikine, Taku, Yukon, Higher Fraser, Cariboo, Clearwater Rivers and Hobson Lake in Northwestern British Columbia and the Yukon. Still another project of the same size is planned in the Great Bear Lake area in the Northwest Territories, as well as those planned for Hudson Bay, Ungava Bay, and Sept-Iles areas in Quebec.

Where will the animals and birds and native people go?

Ironically, one of Bourassa's argument to the people of Quebec, when atomic energy was suggested as an alternative to the James Bay Project, was that "atomic energy remains a permanent danger to the life and environment of millions of Americans and Canadians." Now he has had a change of mind since France is willing to pay $3.5-billion to make the danger possible.

George Manuel, in *The Fourth World*, summarizes the situation: "Are we to die that they might be saved?"

Certainly providing the Cree with a policeman's badge and a patrol skidoo will do little to halt a runaway nuclear reactor, or series of reactors which could potentially power a third of European industry.

The Cree, from their limited contact with the major governments, believe that the law is honorable and has real meaning. But selective enforcement of public law has characterized the whole of Indian history, and there is little evidence to show that James Bay will be any different.

The only genuine saving factor could be economic collapse. Bourassa's political survival right now depends on his ability to scrape up $12-billion, an amount equal to the entire federal budget of Canada in 1972. He is depending on a handsome contribution from the French Government to build the dams to make the power to enrich the uranium. There will, as a result, be little profits from the sale of the uranium – and anything the Cree and Inuit get will be royalties on the profits Quebec will not make.

The project was expected to cost $3-billion when it was first announced. Now the cost is admitted to be in the neighborhood of $12-billion, and some say it may rise to $20-billion before it is completed – if, in fact, it is completed. The peak drain of the project on the economy is not expected to come until 1980. Already Quebec has had to shut down day-care centres, school bus service, school construction because of the drain on its resources for James Bay.

The Liberal Government's vision of Canadian Confederation can only survive through the safety of a dual Liberal regime in Ottawa and Quebec. And the only way Bourassa can be kept in power is by showing success as the "economic development miracle-maker of Quebec" with all his eggs in the James Bay basket. If the project fails, his government could collapse. If another party comes to power, the Liberal Party could see the whole of Confederation being threatened.

Philip Paul, a Salish leader of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, described the agreement as "blankets and beads."

Even that might not be so bad if the beads were not strung around a time bomb and the blankets were not diseased.

The English word "dam" spelled backward is "mad."

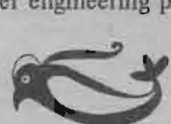
The English word "dam" spelled backward is "mad." Most of the world's great dams have been built within the past quarter-century, and many of them could now be spelled as meaningfully backward as forward.

Years of opposition nearly always failed to deter the promoters. Only recently, now that so many have been completed, are we beginning to see how often their promised "benefits" have been overshadowed by the actual damages they are costing – financial, ecological, cultural, legal, medical, social, and spiritual

It is too late to stop the Aswan Dam which has proven far more disastrous than beneficial for Egypt. It is too late now to stop British Columbia's W.A.C. Bennett Dam which obliterated forever 680 square-miles of magnificent Canadian wilderness and brought about the "death of a delta", the thousand square-mile, highly productive wetlands of the Peace/Athabasca Delta 700 miles downstream from the dam.

It is too late to stop scores of other huge river manipulations which have relentlessly devastated most of the river valleys in North America, one after another. With shocking frequency, these dammed areas have taken the very heart out of those bits and pieces of land which had been "reserved" during the past 300 years for the use of native people – survivors of the European invasion and the "civilization" of the continent.

The Garrison Dam has already inundated the total way of life of the Three Affiliated Tribes in North Dakota, and other dams on down the Missouri have disturbed other tribes. The Kinzua Dam in Pennsylvania has already displaced the Seneca Nation of Indians in New York from land promised to them in 1794 by George Washington's personal deputy – forever, or "until they freely choose to sell . . ." From the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the far North down to the Mexican border, native people are still, in 1973, suffering extreme cultural disruption by non-Indian water engineering projects.



It is *not* too late, however, to stop the James Bay Development. It is not too late to learn something from three decades of dangerous dam mistakes.

It is not too late for the political leaders of Quebec to acknowledge openly the fact that times have changed even since April 29, 1971 [when the project was first announced to a political party meeting in Quebec City's Colisee hockey rink. Then, with exciting background music building up to a great stereophonic crescendo, and "LA BAIE JAMES" stretched in huge letters across three adjacent wide screens, the public address system loudly proclaimed a grandiose project of BOOM: "The World Begins Today!"

It is still not too late for Premier Bourassa and his minister of natural resources to join Prime Minister Trudeau and his environment minister in leading Canada gracefully into the Era of Ecology by allowing James Bay to become a living reminder of Canada's unfolding ecological awareness, rather than a dead monument to senseless power (both hydro-electric and political), obsolete economics, inadequate benefit/cost studies, and cultural imposition on thousands of native people.

The public is taking a much closer look at "progress" and at the high cost of the ever-growing Gross National Product. People are no longer willing to be diverted from their environmental concerns by great "public participation" programmes unless their voices can be effectively heard when it comes to decision-making.

Public interest in ecology is beginning to extend far beyond the high cost of ill-considered and extremely risky developments like the one now underway at James Bay.

We want to share with our political leaders the burdens of unemployment, and the excitement of imagining some new approaches to "jobs" – new ways of life in some respects more like the sharing style which served native people on this continent so well for so many thousands of years. We are thinking way beyond the "doom and gloom" pessimism based on the inevitable collapse of an obsolete, growth-oriented way of life.

We are looking ahead with realistic optimism to imaginative new lifestyles more like the Indian and Inuit way, in which our society, like theirs, can enjoy full employment for all people of all ages in the business of living together in peace, making and consuming what we need, giving respectful thanks for the earth's resources, and sharing them more equitably, rediscovering the wisdom and strength of going along with nature rather than struggling to dominate her with our powerful but dangerous earthmoving toys.

– Walt Taylor

Oil Rigs And Dead Babies

Yellowknife, Northwest Territories – Housing is a major cause – perhaps the most important cause – of ill health in the North, says Wally Firth, the Indian member of parliament for the Northwest Territories.

"Southern quality housing never was any good in the North. In winter – which lasts eight months – you can get frost on the inside of these frame houses. There's no running water and just one little stove to melt ice and snow for cooking, washing, everything. Then you get five or six little kids in a house like that – or you get two or three families in one house – and pretty soon the children have sores all over them. It's no wonder so many get ear infections, too."

There are houses like that down on the flats near the lakefront at Yellowknife. They were built there for Indian families. They have only one door, and heating ducts in the cealing, so that heat is quickly lost. In the very cold weather, the inside walls become covered with frost.

Firth says if the Government is serious about improving housing, it should look at local labor and local timber found along the river in the heavily-wooded MacKenzie Valley. "Log housing was the answer before, and it can be the answer again," he said.

The ticky-tack government homes also create mental health problems, and children can't keep up with their schoolwork.

Distance, isolation, and small communities make providing health care difficult. Firth says the health services "barely patch up" the people's physical and mental health problems before social conditions create more.

Northern nurses are the backbone of the system, manning stations in small settlements. In the tinier villages, a visiting nurse may come in to hold clinic.

Alcoholism is causing great concern to the native people themselves. In a liquor vote in Frobisher Bay, 60 per cent of the Inuit voted to ban alcohol, but were overruled because the white vote swung the total favoring booze over the 50% mark.

Social dislocations caused by the intrusion of Western ways upon the people of the Far North have been followed by a severe outbreak of mental illness, suicides, and murder among Inuit.

At an International Symposium on Circumpolar Health here in July, three hundred specialists from ten countries met to discuss the effects of social change and resulting health problems. While Western medicine had been successful in combating some diseases, communication failures and cross-cultural conflict have caused Western psychiatric methods to fail in treating social and behavioral disorders. In Alaska, it was reported, there has been a virtual epidemic of suicides among Inuit, with a rate three times that recorded 15 years ago. Murder is twice as frequent.

The stress is not easy on whites in the North, either. In the NWT last year, 77 people died from accidents, and of these 42 were white – although whites are less than one-third the population. Ten of 18 people who drowned were white. Ten whites died in motor vehicle accidents as opposed to only 3 natives. And eight of the 11 suicides recorded were white people.

People from southern Canada flood into the settlements to fill government posts, and often what they tell native people conflicts with what others have said. Government policies change. The native people have no control over the situation – and no control over the lives of their children or their own communities. Social upheaval results.

At the International Symposium, Danish scientists reported the same pattern – homicides, domestic disturbances, child abuse is on the rise among the Inuit of Greenland, where the murder rate is five times higher than that of metropolitan Denmark – often related to pervasive abuse of alcohol.

Specialists in mental health problems say the only thing that seems to be useful in treating mental disturbances is to resort to indigenous techniques, including the use of native healers.

"The standard psychiatric interview, in which the psychiatrist asks questions and tells the patient what to do, is alien to Eskimo thinking," said Dr. Robert F. Kraus, a psychiatrist with long experience among Eskimos. "For example," he said, "there is no way to define a doctor-patient relationship in the Eskimo language. Eskimos would regard the seclusiveness of the relationship as impolite and boorish. They have no concept of going to another person and asking for help, and it is considered childish to ask questions."

Drawing on the native "philosophy of mutual support," the Inuit psychiatric aides assist mentally-ill persons by indirect means, said Dr. Kraus. For example, he explained, they make "oblique" approaches to older people to bolster the afflicted person's ego with "expressions of love and demonstrations of affection, often through gifts of food."

In Alaska, 185 native health aides have undergone training for work in 157 villages, according to Robert Singyke, the Inuit head of the Office of Community Health Development in Anchorage. Dr. Verner Stillner, a psychiatrist at the Native Hospital in Bethel, predicts that the Inuit health aides would ultimately replace imported psychiatrists, adding that they "can do everything I do except prescribe medication."

Modern technology is moving into the North in a big way. Millions of dollars worth of airplanes, drilling rigs, heavy equipment – anything to corner a part of the "natural resources."

But in the midst of all the technology, the infant mortality rate is a blemish on the social record of North America. Almost one Inuit baby in ten dies, and one Indian baby in twelve. White people living in the Territories can expect that only one baby in fifty will die.

The problems do not seem to be with inadequate medical services – exactly. The Northern Health Service reports that it is just the fact of going home to death-producing social conditions that is probably the root of the actual causes of death.

Voices From James Bay

(Albert Diamond has felt the pressures of Western society nearly all his life. He personifies the conflict in the cultures. On the street in Montreal or in his offices a dozen blocks away from the James Bay Power Company suites, he seems to fit right in – yet there is something else inside going on. These are extracts from an interview Albert Diamond gave to Jon Lerner, writing for AKWESASNE NOTES.)

Albert Diamond

"When I was a kid, I did practically everything. My father showed us. He learned us how to find our way out of the bush, taught us how to set traps and snares. This is the way the kids learn, through experience.

"But I was at a time when most children were sort of forced to go to school. It was just one day I was six years old and the next thing I know my mother was telling me to change my clothes and get on the plane with those other kids. They sent us to a residential school. At that time, we were not allowed to speak in Indian – if you did, you got the strap. We came back and we had trouble talking with our parents. I felt pretty bad about it – there were things my father said that I couldn't understand. By the time I was in grade 12, you could classify me as a brown white man.

"I was in the second year of university when I just couldn't take it any more. I told them, 'Well, I'm going home. I want to go up there and find out exactly what the hell I'm going through.' Since I left school, I learned more than I think I would have learned in a classroom. And it sort of made up my mind what I want to do – which is to try to help the people.

'You know, you have to be patient if you're going to hunt geese, and you're taught this early. A goose blind is about the size of this desk, and you have to sit there for eight hours of the day looking out. But geez, I was there when I was seven years old – I really enjoyed it. The first time a kid kills a goose, the parents make a big deal out of it. They bake a cake and make sure everybody gets a piece of it, tell them its his first goose, and so on. Cree people don't think it's right to say, 'Oh, I'm going to kill twelve geese.' It's much better to say, 'I wonder what the Creator's going to give me tomorroe?' You'll find old men who lean back and say that every night. And that kid will stop and he'll say it too – 'I wonder what the Creator will give me tomorrow?'

"Cree people, they're different socially. Like say the importance of helping another person out. To them, that means a lot. If you are selfish and greedy – conceited – people will frown on that. And if you don't share, you might as well not have any friends. Like not every family has a trapline. Practically every trapline there's at least two families. On my father's trapline this past winter there were three, sharing a trapline – to them it's no problem. They don't think twice. A guy will say, 'Well, I have no place to trap.' And the other guy will say, 'Yeah? Well, I'm looking for someone to come with me.' And that's it. He doesn't care about the financial advantage he would have if he went alone. He's thinking about the fact that these people have to eat too, they have to survive. And the best way they know how is out in the bush.

"I don't think we should have to live like white people. I think we'll still survive if we live the way we are. Take so much of their culture, but only the good things about it, and keep what we have now.

(Jon Lerner also talked with Philip Cox, a Cree hunter whose trapline will be inundated when the water rises behind the second dam on the LaGrande River. This is how Lerner recounted the conversation for AKWESASNE NOTES.)

Phillip Cox

"My age now, 51. Since my life, never changed but hunt. Always hunt, every time, every year. And try it again this year, try to hunt again. And she floods up maybe next year – no more. Now what can we do?"

We are facing each other on two straight-backed chairs in the living room of the new Cox house in Fort George. It is one of some 250 being built in the settlement by the Department of Indian Affairs, and Philip and his family have only moved in this past year. It is the same new house you will find going up these days on every reservation in Canada or the States – just as rinky-tink prefab as you can imagine, though Philip likes it for its warmth. There is very little in the room we occupy: a table and chairs by the kitchen end, a double bed in the opposite corner, and a breadth of immaculate floor between. Everyone takes their shoes off as they enter the houses here. It seems to be a habit derived logically enough because of the snow that blankets the outside seven months a year, and the mud of spring and fall – but not in the summer because of the sand. The island on which Fort George is located, created long ago by sedimentation as the LaGrande's current meets the James Bay tides, is composed primarily of sand. To build the new houses, Indian Affairs naturally had to clear the land of growing things, and in the process bulldozed off the topsoil. Everyone I meet complains about the sand.

"When I was 20 years old," says Philip, "all this place had lots of bush, Lots of trees this island - lovely bush. Now on, no trees. It's all the sand."

This lean little man smokes cigarette after cigarette as we sit in our stocking feet and talk. The microphone I hold out doesn't seem to bother him at all. "I want to help somebody make a life," he says. "It's the thing to do. If you were staying on this place for a couple of years and if you ask me for something from me, I be ready to help you. I want to give you a life."

Then he raises his voice to make me understand. "But I can't teach anybody else for hunting if he's flooded up my hunting section. If he flooded up my section, no use to go there again. What can we do on top of the water? No trees – just water. No fire, no eat! You believe me?"

"Yes," I tell him. "I believe you."

– photo by Jerry Zribal

Cree Country During the North's Time

"Many things are lost after flooded up," he continues, calm again. "Food, be lost. Fish and the rest of the animals, be lost. Listen. When you make the garden in the outside, after you make it, if it grows, very nice. All something to eat – flowers, potatoes and everything to eat on it. Yet if you made the garden, when somebody else spoils your garden, you can't grow anything on it. Just the same after they make the project. Now this is summer. See that flowers on there? Nice flowers, nice grow. And the rest of the animals, grow. When I start next November, new hunting, new animals, new food – nice to eat. That's the garden. That's my garden. That's the Indians own garden. On south those have their own gardens – just the same on my section. That's the Indian's own garden – that's why he doesn't want it flooded up.

(While Jon Lerner was in Fort George, he was hospitably received by Gilbert Herodier, a long-time friend of AKWESASNE NOTES, who took Lerner to his family's camp up on the river. When they arrived, a young lad, Christopher, had just taken his first seal which was being prepared. Here Jon Lerner relates his impressions of the camp and Fort George.)

Fort George, with something under 2,000 people, is the largest of the James Bay settlements. Its people say it is different from the rest, more developed – perhaps on account of its size, perhaps because it sits smack in the line of the LaGrande complex. Five years ago, they recall, most people here still followed the traditional hunting pattern.

When they came here in the summers, they lived in tents of small houses southerners would think of as shacks. Now more and more families stay here all year round. The suburban-style prefabs have electricity and oil heat and telephones, and when an insulated plumbing system is completed, they will have running water too. Two lumbering DC-3s fly in and out each weekday and there is talk of a bridge to connect the island with the new highway the Corporation has built to link their LaGrande works with Canada South

The kids come home from [government] boarding school jagged on the speed of city life and hang around, many of them, bored stiff. Nearly every one I meet begins our conversation asking, "How much did you bring?" meaning dope, smoke or drink.

After just a few days here, one begins to realize that the economic and cultural assault that happened eighty and a hundred and three hundred years ago against the native people who lived where we now find the United States is happening today to the Cree of James Bay. One people who carry on their lives according to the laws they find in nature is confronted by another people who carry their laws around in books and impose their notions of property and progress with the ballpoint ease of ruling off plots on a map.

Says Philip Cox, "I'm worried – the young people, the small kids. That's why I told you that before. You asked me what can we do after make the project? All be die."

* * * * *

If life is changing fast in the settlements, in the bush the circle is unbroken. We got out of the boat and filed straightaway into the tipi to sit and get warm, facing each other across the fire. There is a strong sweet scent inside from the flooring of spruce boughs which the women replace every few days to keep the dwelling fresh. A dozen fish are being smoked on a rack above the fire. We are each given a plate with a whole smoked fish to break apart and eat with our fingers. The family has been here for weeks, living mainly off of what they catch, though they brought their tools and guns and rubber hip boots and a little "store food".

There is something deep beneath these things adopted from the white society that is an Indian center to this summer camp: visitors are welcomed at the fireplace, a meal is shared, jokes and tales exchanged, two infants rock in cradles hung from the slanting tipi poles.

When we are full and warm, we come outside again to where the women are preparing a lad's seal skin for drying. They have lashed together a square-ish frame of branches. Gracie takes a knife and pierces the skin every inch or so around its circumference. Three pairs of hands lace string from the frame through the holes, stretch it tight, and set it in the sun, flesh side up, to dry.

We walk into the bush. This country is harsh, but like any other, it offers up its own kind of comfort and sustenance. The floor of the woods is – soft! You sink in maybe a foot on beds of thick moss. The pastel lichens that spread over the clearings are soft too, like gauze or cotton, and springy. The trees are small by southern standards – mostly scraggle spruce with some other kind of grey moss clinging to the boughs. There are berries in profusion – raspberries, and low scrub blueberries, tiny wild strawberries, and berries we have never heard of in the South: sharp-tasting eye-berries staring up at you; salmon-colored cloudberries with a thick sweet sap; little round red ones with hairs they call hairyberries; one like a huckleberry which the Cree call a blackberry that has a strange dry taste; and grape-like gooseberries, green and tart or purple and soft and sweet, on thorny bushes at the rocky beach.

We wander from the woods along the shore of the bay, falling to our knees every so often to fill our mouths with fruit. The bay sparkles deep blue, the air is warm – it is a jewel of a day. When we are full and tired of exploring, we lie on a broad outcropping of rock by the water, shielded from the wind.

"So," asks Gilbert of me. "Do you like my home?"

Northwest Territories

“LAND NOT MONEY”

(In October, James WahShee, president Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, spoke to the Musk-Ox Circle, an academic group at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. These are excerpts from his remarks.)

The Indian and Metis People of the Northwest Territories, at a historic week-long meeting at Fort Good Hope in June, 1974, declared their continuing ownership of 450,000 square miles of traditional land and rejected land-surrender in return for compensation as a land-settlement model.

In so doing, they embraced an approach to settlement of native claims which is a radical departure from the tradition of dealing with the land rights of Indian people. They have rejected the notion that land-settlement necessarily means the extinguishment rather than the preservation of rights.

We have chosen a land-settlement approach which emphasizes the preservation and integrity of our culture as it evolves according to the exercise of choice on our part. We have chosen a land-settlement approach which best meets the development needs of Indian people of the North, and is, therefore, we maintain, also an approach very much in the national interest.

Since the Fort Good Hope meeting, reaction to our approach has been mixed. Some have failed to take a hard look at what we are proposing and have not taken us seriously. Some, wedded to a development philosophy which we feel ignores the needs of distinct minority groups and regions, cannot appreciate an approach which accords such needs a primary importance.

– The Native Press

James WahShee

. . . The issue of the settlement of native land claims in the NWT has achieved new prominence in the past two years (a) because of the increased political consciousness and organization of the native people; (b) because of the increased pressure from outside-initiated developments seeking to exploit northern resources – chief among these is the Arctic Gas Pipeline.

This increasing political consciousness of Indian people has not been attained without opposition from other elements in northern and Canadian society, meagre government funding of native organizations notwithstanding.

This push to establish nationally-defined organizations has been misappropriately labelled “racist” by some, but is essentially a very healthy phenomenon. In fact, racism typically mystifies and ignores essential differences between constituent groups in a society, and in doing so, prepares the way for the suppression of legitimate minority interests by those who hold power in the name of the majority.

A racist society is known by its works. The poor housing, health, and economic situation of Canada’s Indians is as good an indication of a racist society as an openly-avowed policy of racial supremacism on the part of the Federal Government might be. This society has the means to solve these problems of resource allocation, but the will is the crucial element that has been lacking.

Native organizations such as the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT are based on the premise that equality is not granted, but must be demanded. Racial differences cannot be ignored, but must clearly be defined. Furthermore, that definition can be the only real basis on which appropriate solutions to the problems experienced by minority racial groups can be achieved.

We see a land-settlement as the means by which to define the native community of interest in the North, and not to obscure it. This is why we stress, in the land-settlement model we have put forward, that formalization of our rights is our essential goal, rather than the extinguishment of those rights.

For too long, we have been dependent on the good graces of a paternalistic Government for our welfare. The history of this relationship is well-known, and it has ill-served our needs. Now we seek, through a land-settlement, a resource base under our own control, which ensures our autonomy and our participation as equals in those decisions which affect our lives.

We are convinced that these objectives cannot be reached with a land-settlement that ultimately eliminates the very real distinction between native people and Canadian society in general.

Today, Canada is addressing the questions posed by Arctic Gas’ application to build a gas pipeline up the Mackenzie Valley from the Canadian Arctic and Alaska. There is a myopia which affects too many of those involved, which ignores questions not directly connected to this specific project, and which prevents very vital national and regional questions from being addressed.

[Things such as] whether or not the proposed pipeline crosses Blackwater River at the environmentally-optimum spot [are] hardly a significant focus for our attention until we have answered the big question: what should our over-all northern development philosophy be? Or perhaps: how important are regional development considerations when compared with national and even international development imperatives?

Surely, any rational, national development policy must take into account some measure of regional needs as a part of the equation in choosing between development alternatives?

In this regard, when native people of the North assert “no major development before a land-settlement,” they are articulating two vital points. First of all, the rights of native people remain unrecognized by public policy, but nevertheless unextinguished. There can be no estimation of the impact of development on the native community until these rights have been effectively recognized and enshrined in some form of land-settlement.

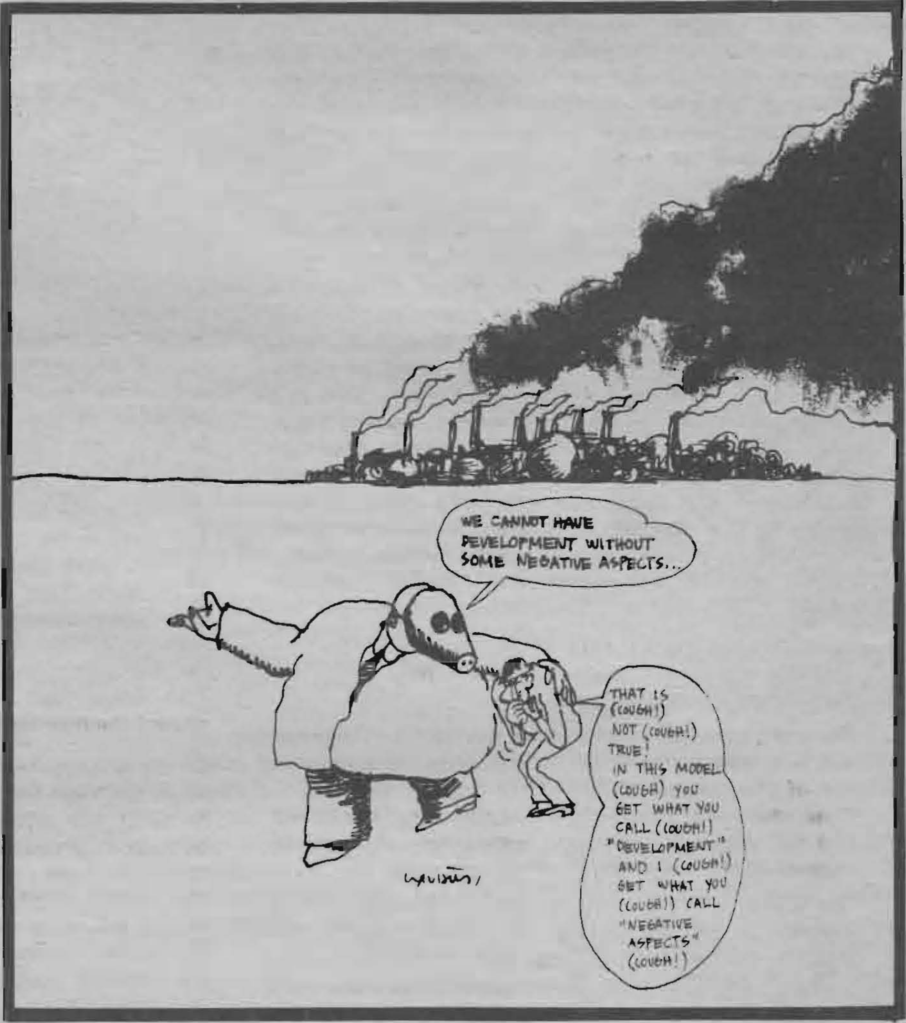
The second point we are making is that the settlement of native land claims in the NWT will itself be a vital statement of the needs of the region, without which no rational northern development policy can be established.

Indian people are used to having to react to specific proposals presented to them as if there were no other possible alternatives, and implicitly denying their own right of initiative. What’s more, Canada as a whole has gradually abdicated its right of initiative, and is dangerously close – in the absence of a coherent national and regional development philosophy, to accepting a similar reactive role in development questions.

It would be 100% accurate to say that had the Indian people of the North been given responsibility for designing the shape of northern development over the next 40 to 50 years, the last project they would ever have suggested would be the pipeline we are now forced to consider.

It is extremely dishonest to maintain, as both [the Canadian Government] and Arctic Gas have done, that one argument for the pipeline is its beneficial impact on native people. As long as the Canadian Government persists in supporting the pipeline application in principle, we may safely assume that Federal Government northern development philosophy (if such a coherent idea exists) allows no primary role to regional needs.

But can we not go even further? There are many indications that for the country as a whole, the pipeline would be a long way from the top of a list of development priorities based on national needs. This pipeline is not even a Canadian pipeline – and the so-called Maple Leaf, wolf-in-sheep’s clothing line, has yet to demonstrate that there is any urgent Canadian market that needs to be filled.


WE CANNOT HAVE DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT SOME NEGATIVE ASPECTS...
THAT IS (COUGH!) NOT (COUGH!) TRUE! IN THIS MODEL (COUGH) YOU GET WHAT YOU CALL (COUGH!) "DEVELOPMENT" AND I (COUGH!) GET WHAT YOU (COUGH!) CALL "NEGATIVE ASPECTS" (COUGH!)

–Claudius/IPAC/Liberation News Service

The need for these projects does not stem from social expression, but rather from the internal investment imperative of a multi-national oil industry.

Thus we have a situation where the shape of northern development is being determined purely as a reaction to one project initiative, without regard for alternative development possibilities.

The Indian people of the NWT are suggesting a model for the settlement of their land claims which is, ultimately, a development plan for the Mackenzie District and its native inhabitants.

There is a debate which continues in Canada today over the meaning of development. An increasing number of economic historians, many of them drawing on the literature of countries in the southern hemisphere with lengthy colonial experience, now maintain that much of what has been touted as development in the hinterland regions (such as the NWT) is in its regional impact on those areas quite the opposite.

This opposition is expressed most clearly in the following declaration of the Tanzania African National Union [TANU]: “Any action which does not increase the people’s say in determining their own affairs or running their own lives is not development and retards them, even if the action brings them a little better health and a little more bread.”

Indians in the NWT and we suspect many other Canadians on the Canadian economic fringe, have been subject to a development philosophy which may have raised their material standards in some respects, but which, above all, has taken their independence in return. By no form of rational acrobatics can such a process pass by the name of “development”.

The socio-economic impact literature commissioned in the North recently, whether by government or industry, assumes that such impact is quantifiable and can be ameliorated and counter-balanced by outlays in the public sphere. Such contentions fly in the face of historical reality, and amount to the assertion that our independence can be bought. This sort of reasoning is implicit in Government economic development policy extant in the North today.

In fact, when all the fog has cleared, the question of what form a settlement of native land claims in the NWT should take becomes a question of [which] development philosophy one adheres to.

A development philosophy which seeks to make of the hinterland and its people a mere dependency of the metropolis will likely emphasize the sort of false compensatory approach I have mentioned. We know what this kind of settlement contributed to the development objectives of our brothers and sisters to the south. We seek to avoid the same outcome in the North.

On the other hand, a development philosophy which seeks to attribute a real value to regionally-defined development needs, to development in the sense of increasing the self-determination and economic independence of a region, this sort of philosophy would favor a land settlement which emphasized not compensation, but control. Such control can only be achieved in the Canadian economy through the exercise of a substantial claim to the resources of a region, usually through the medium of ownership.

The Minister of Indian Affairs, in a statement of August 18, 1973, called for settlement of Indian and Inuit claims in the following terms: (1) full compliance with the spirit and terms of the treaties; (2) settlement of claims based on aboriginal title relating to "the loss of traditional use and occupancy of lands in certain parts of Canada where Indian Title was never extinguished by Treaty or superceded by law."

Presumably, Indian claims in the NWT fall within the ambit of the second category. However, the claim being put forward in the Territories is not based on the loss of traditional use, but rather the preservation and formal recognition of rights over lands which have been and continue to be used.

Once again, the philosophy of development implied in the minister's statement writes off as insignificant a way of life which is very much alive and must form the basis of any of our future development efforts. We are not interested in compensation for loss of a way of life, but for the right and freedom to construct our own alternatives for development on the bedrock of our past.

The destruction of our way of life in return for compensation, and a menial role for native people in outside-initiated development, by and large irrelevant to our needs, cannot be assumed by the Government, Arctic Gas, or any proposed settlement of our claims.

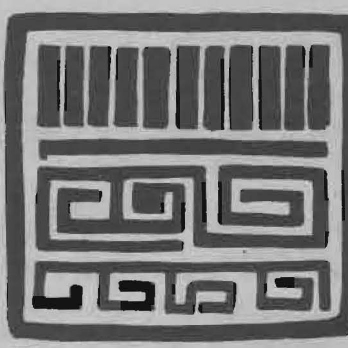
The shape of northern development cannot be decided without the essential input of our people. . . . The process we have adopted in developing the details of our land-settlement well exemplifies what we mean. Through a structure running from the Joint Community Land Claims Committee, involving both the band council and Metis local [chapter] in a settlement, through the Regional Land Claims Committee, with representatives from every Joint Community Committee in a region, and finally to the 14-member negotiating team of the Metis and [Government] status people, we have ensured that the eventual land-settlement will be rooted in the communities.

What we are asking of each community is that it record its present and past land-use pattern, examine its economic development experience, and eventually draw from this material a picture of the economic future it wishes to see develop. This process is aided by our fieldworkers, resource people, and all the relevant information we can obtain.

This process, itself, is the beginning of our development efforts. For the first time, the development initiative is to emerge from Indian communities, and the land-settlement proposed will be expected to preserve this possibility in the future.

This process is, in fact, well under way, and an initial definition of the type of settlement we are thinking was agreed upon by 250 people in Fort Good Hope, representing both Metis and Status people from every community in the Mackenzie District. An emphasis on the retention of Indian land and the rejection of compensation was summed up in the slogan, "Land Not Money"

What may appear on a white man's map to be a roadless uninhabited wilderness, when inscribed with the activity patterns of our people, becomes to all intents and purposes a tangle of lines and significant features, signs of thorough use and occupancy.



We have all learned much in this exercise of recording our people's biography on the land. We know we don't cluster about the settlements simply by choice. We know we have not given up our traditional activities because of the appeal of industrial life as some consultants to the oil industry and Governments so glibly assume.

News From Turtle Island - North

Yellowknife, N.W.T. — The Northern Lands of Great Turtle Island — the home of Inuit, Dog Rib, and other native peoples — is a colonized area of Canada. It has 34,000 people, two-thirds of whom are native to the land. It also is rich in oil.

It's "commissioner" is appointed by Ottawa. Even the non-native populace feels the lack of self-government. Most of them are, however, civil servants operating the colony, and want self-determination only for themselves. Canada has 1,717 civil servants in the area — only 313 of them are native people, and most of those are caretakers, file clerks and the like.

The principal department of the Canadian Government is the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Its minister has the responsibility of protecting native rights — and at the same time, developing the North. Where there is conflict — which is almost always — Northern Development seems to win out.

Last autumn, two Arctic researchers, geographer Peter J. Usher and Grahame Beakhurst, a professor of environmental studies at York University, charged that Ottawa's colonial mentality was seriously jeopardizing native lives. They said that government land use regulations that allowed oil companies to make geological dynamite tests had ruined hunting, fishing, whaling, and trapping.

The men said the Canadian Government goes to great lengths to honor leases issued to oil companies, and that once granted, leases would not be renegotiated despite any damage to the environment.

"Those who can make the most economically productive use of land and resources have a superior right to them," is the way the scientists pegged Ottawa's exploitation policy. In a major northern policy statement in March, 1972, Jean Chretien, minister of Indian affairs and northern development, said the greatest emphasis of his department was going to be meeting the needs of native people. But he also said that meant attracting southern Canadians — individuals or corporations — to develop the north so that natives could get jobs.

What did the natives ever do for survival before the southern part of Canada came to "help"? the researchers wondered.

The most common argument for northern exploitation and justifying colonialism "is invariably the utilitarian one of the greatest good for the greatest number" — those who live in the south, the study says. They added that this argument is "fraught with danger of perpetual tyranny of the majority."

The Canadian Government's history in the north is colonial all the way through. It acquired title to vast areas in the north by taking over control from the Hudson's Bay Company, which had asserted ownership through grants from the kings and queens of England.

According to the Geological Survey of Canada, the goodies the corporations are after include more than 28 billion barrels of oil, 343 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and all sorts of minerals. Over 100 companies are prospecting for copper, lead, zinc, tungsten and other metals.

The proposed 2,500-mile $6-billion Mackenzie Valley pipeline from northern Alaska through Canada to the U.S. is also involved.

"We consider that the land claims of native peoples must be settled before any work is done to prepare the right of way, to build the pipeline, or to build treatment facilities for any kind of oil or gas," said Sam Raddi, the Eskimo president of COPE. Chretien has said the Government could not agree to halt development pending a settlement.

The Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories has spearheaded the united front to block the pipeline before claims are settled. It has formed a powerful alliance with the Metis Association, the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE), and other groups. Most native people have are clear that the pipeline would cause problems for the animals, the land, and consequently, for themselves.

Some are resigned, though, to the idea that they cannot stop the massive project, and thus they might as well concentrate on making the price to the southern intruders as high as possible in dollars. Chief Elizah Smith of the Yukon Native Brotherhood expresses that opinion.

Others are more determined and confident. Addy Tobac of Cape Good Hope told hearings in Ottawa recently that researchers going into her village along Great Bear River "are using us" to support claims by Canadian Arctic Gas Pipelines, Ltd., that the pipeline is wanted by the Indians. "We are tired of repeating ourselves," she declared, adding that native people of Fort Good Hope and Fort Norman were afraid of the impact the pipeline would have.

Chiefs of native bands and the board of directors of the Metis and Non-Status Native Association are agreed as to what the settlement should be. James WahShee, outspoken president of the NWT Indian Brotherhood, says "land, not money, is the focus of the settlement. The Indian people are not seeking to sell their land for money no matter how much. We are now the lawful owners of the land and we intend to remain owners of a lot of land. Compensation in the way of money is but incidental."

But when former minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chretien heard that the Indian Brotherhood would be demanding to retain 450,000 square-miles of their land, he complained, "They're out of the ball park!"

WahShee countered that the minister was speaking hastily and improperly, because it was obvious he had not considered the whole proposal. "The general public of Canada has been prejudiced against land settlement by statements from the minister of Indian Affairs and officials of that department by references to figures of $3-billion. I repeat — the issue is land, not money."

The Christian Church, historically an agent of colonization, has found that its missionaries develop mixed feelings after spending years with native peoples in the North. There are some like the Rev. Lionel Ducharme, an Oblate who has been in the North 50 years. "The Eskimo is finished as an Eskimo," he says. They started losing 350 years ago when they abandoned their stone-house communities and began wandering in search of game, he asserts. "There is no way back. We missionaries share the view that they have no future but to assimilate."

Father Ducharme, who started his life's work in 1921 at Chesterfield Inlet and is now at Eskimo Point, says that the pioneers in aiding the assimilation are the "Eskimo-white products who have been brought up close to the white community — they are giving leadership."

Other missionaries have taken a different course. Fr. Louis Fournier founded a 14-member Inuit contemplative community which has been living at Inpik River since May, 1973. They have three solid shacks there, one for the Eskimo family and the women, another to serve as a chapel, and a third for Fr. Fournier and the boys.

Fr. Fournier explains the aims of the community as being "Christian life as perfect as possible in all domains, with the accent on prayer of adoration and thanksgiving." To realize the practical aspects of communal life and poverty, they are practicing tithing.

Echoing statements earlier voiced by NIB President George Manuel, re-elected by acclamation, the delegates said the office of minister of Indian Affairs represented a conflict of interests. The same minister who is legally the trustee of Indian lands cannot decide on land claims, or negotiate them, said the resolution.

So far, the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT is opposed to relinquishing land claims in return for a monetary settlement as happened in Alaska.

"We want to hold onto the ownership and become equal partners in the development of the North," James WahShee says. Control of the land is necessary to insure permanent protection of the environment and "the Indian way of life," he says.

At a meeting in Fort Good Hope, 250 native leaders agreed to form a seven-member land-claims committee to approach the Canadian Government.

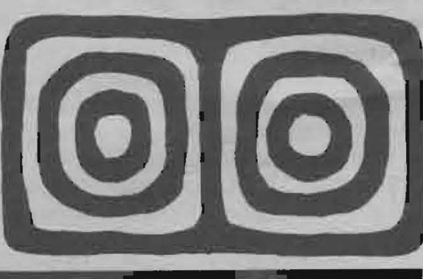
COPE has begun a study, expected to take two years, to determine the extent and boundaries of Inuit claims. The Inuit areas are generally said to be "north of the tree line" in the semidesert of the far north. The tree line in the NWT — where all Inuit over whom Canada claims jurisdiction live except for a few thousand in northern Quebec and Labrador — runs from the Mackenzie River delta north of Inuvik southeastward to the point where the 60th parallel runs into Hudson Bay.

Most non-Inuit natives live south of the treeline, but the two ethnic groups overlap in places. There is also the question of areas where Inuit have settled in recent years, or places that they once inhabited but have vacated. Even so, their claims in both instances would appear to hold more weight than Canada's claim of "discovery" or "royal grant."

Leaders of native people in the Yukon Territory want to retain some land where they can pursue their traditional occupations, and are asking for money for relinquishing claims in other areas, according to Allen Lueck, the legal adviser to the Yukon native organizations.

The National Indian Brotherhood, at its convention in Vancouver in August, decided to participate directly in politics through a new organization to be called the Indian Political Party of Canada, with land claims as its foremost issue.

THERE IS DEATH IN THE WATERS OF ONTARIO



(This story comesto AKWESASNE NOTES from a documentary broadcast on CBC's "As It Happens." The program, entitled "A Clear and Present Danger," was prepared during the summer of 1974 while the Ojibway Warriors' Society was occupying Anicnawbe Park and charging the government of Canada and Ontario with genocide through the willful neglect of the Anishnawbeg whose food supply had been destroyed by pollution. This story is based in part on government documents which have not been released but which were obtained by "As It Happens" with difficulty and perseverence. We are grateful to that program's enterprising journalists for this story.)

– Kenora, Ontario

The town of Minamata, Japan, became world-known by lending its name to one of the worst poisoning disasters in modern history. Hundreds of people suffered and many died from what became known as the Minamata disease: mercury poisoning.

Is a disaster of similar proportions now facing the Ojibwa people in the area marked out by Treaty 3? Could the name of Kenora become as infamous as the name Minamata? Not for pulp, paper, or racial tensions, but for disease and human destruction? Why has the public been denied information about mercury poisoning in this region? Has adequate testing been done? Who is responsible?

Minamata's Mercury Experience

Shinobo Sakamoto is a victim of Minamata disease, methyl mercury poisoning named for the city where it was first discovered. Shinobo was maimed before she was born. Her mother had eaten mercury-contaminated fish. She and others have sued the corporation responsible for their fate.

"Even when the trial ends, nothing is changed," she says, "because my body will not become well again. Even if we get the money, it's the same thing."

Minamata was the worst industrial accident in history. The company responsible, the Chiso Chemical Company, paid millions of dollars in compensation. But the damage is irreparable. Over 700 patients have been officially designated. They will never recover. More than 2,000 others await verification.

In mid-October, 1974, the 100th victim of Minamata disease died. She was 23 years old. Her name was Kumiko Mutsanaga.

Kumiko was stricken in 1956 at the age of 5. She had eaten contaminated fish. When she died, she weighed 46 pounds.

Three years ago, Eugene and Eileen Smith moved to Minamata to begin work on a history of the poisoning. Eugene Smith is a photographer of world-wide reputation. Eileen, also a photographer-journalist, is Japanese.

She describes another victim of Minamata disease, Chiko-jon. "She's one of two daughters that fell ill. Her older sister died of poisoning a year and a half after she fell ill. Chiko-jon is 19 now. About two weeks after her older sister fell ill, she too was stricken.

"When her older sister had fallen ill, she had said, 'Well, Ma, I'll take care of pouring the tea.' She was four years old then. Soon she fell ill with similar symptoms. The mother ended up being away for seven years, and at night she used to have to carry the oldest child in the hallways and the roadways because the child was screaming so much in agony that she had to carry her so that other patients could sleep."

The Same Thing in Ontario

Echoes of this have been heard in Canada, though not until much later than it struck Minamata. On February 27, 1970, the Ontario Government issued control orders on eleven companies, ordering them to stop dumping mercury into waterways. One unnerving discovery was that mercury leaking out of the Dryden Pulp and Paper Mill in Northwestern Ontario was contaminating the English and Wabigon River systems, including Clay Lake, then running into the Winnipeg River across the Manitoba border, then into Lake Winnipeg.

Mercury levels in fish were dangerously high.The fish could not be eaten. On August 13, 1970, George Kerr was Ontario's Minister of the Environment.

"The readings in Clay Lake were high, about the highest in the province," he says. "There were one or two readings that were just as high in Lake St. Clair. But certainly this rumour or this statement by anybody that it's higher than the situation in Japan is, of course, a damned lie."

But a report entitled, *The Public Health Significance of Methyl Mercury,*prepared for the Ontario Cabinet, takes another view. "In the Wabigon-English River systems, levels in the fish are amongst the highest recorded in North America and are comparable with those found in Japan."

This report was never released to the public.

Clay Lake, in the Wabigon-English River system, has been studied with particular care. The initial work was done by Dr. F.A.J. Armstrong of the Federal Fresh Water Institute based at the University of Manitoba. He is currently in Australia, where he said:

"[Clay Lake was studied because] it was the nearest lake to Winnipeg that was really contaminated. The contamination really was very heavy indeed." Asked how he would feel personally about eating the fish from either the Wabigon River or Clay Lake, Dr. Armstrong said, "Oh, I wouldn't touch it."

But for the Indian people in the area who depend on the fish for food have continued to eat contaminated

The [Ontario] Government informed tourist camps by telephone and telegram that their guests should not consume any of the fish from those waters. The Government also posted signs saying, "Fish for Fun" – that meant that you could go ahead and catch the toxic fish, but you should throw them back and not eat them.

Tourist camps in the area were forced by the lack of guests to close for a while. Native people went on eating the fish, but they were not the only ones who played down the scare. Mrs. Smith, a lodge owner, says: "Kenora people, well, they just felt that if we would say nothing, things would get back to normal again. They all had the impression that it wasn't serious enough to close for, since there were no cases of mercury poisoning documented." Fish-for-fun signs are no longer obligatory.

Barney Lamb, another tourist camp operator who closed his lodge anyway says:

"It's just common knowledge in the area. The guests come out from the camps carrying a box of fish. You can travel on the waterway and see them at lunch eating the fish." He says he has seen this going on. He also says, "Some of the camp operators offered reward to anybody who brought in one of the [Fish for Fun] signs – sort of a bounty, a bottle of whisky to the Indians to bring in the signs so people couldn't see them."

Leo Bernier, now Minister of Natural Resources in the Ontario Government, says, "We've taken them [the signs] down. We've gone another route. In fact, every person along the English and the Wabigon River systems in the Northwestern Ontario region were notified by letter from the Ministry of Health as to the possible dangers that may arise from eating the fish. That type of program was more effective than the Fish for Fun signs."

The native people in that area are Ojibway. They have no written language.

When mercury poisoning first hit Minamata, nobody knew what it was. The man responsible for diagnosing Minamata disease was Dr. Takiuchi Tadao of Kumomoto University, a pathologist. His group at the university had published 183 papers on the poisoning by 1968. Canadian industry continues to pour mercury in the water.

"Would you expect someone who has never seen a case of methyl-mercury poisoning to recognize it?" Dr. Tadao queries. "In very serious types of cases, it is easy to recognize the symptoms. But in the chronic or incomplete type, where small amounts of mercury have accumulated in the brain and nervous tissue over a period of time, this is indeed difficult to diagnose. In severe cases, there is extensive damage to the nervous system. The patient cannot walk. There is a complete loss of coordination, with writhing movements, screams, and so on. But the more difficult cases are those which are more subtle. There may be a numbness of the limb, tremors, particularly in the hands. There may be some impairment of the ability to walk, a problem of slurring or inarticulate speech. And some impaired vision or hearing."

Dr. Tadao says "at present we have 740 patients who have been diagnosed as having Minamata disease. We also have 2600 patients who are suspected victims of the disease who have applied for treatment. It has become difficult in Minamata to diagnose the problem because of the low level of the poisoning. We find, for example, alcohol or diabetes in these patients – but it is very difficult to determine what association these things have with methyl-mercury poisoning.

Asked for his opinion about the data he had been studying on the amounts of mercury in the fish in the Kenora area of Ontario, Dr. Takaiuchi said at first, "Yes, I have seen the data there. I find the level of methyl-mercury in the fish in the Kenora area is by and large much greater than the contamination in Minamata. I wonder, though, if the problem is not somewhat different in that the residents of the Kenora area do not consume as much fish as the Japanese?"

Informed that thousands of people inthe Kenora area are native people for whom fish is a major part of their diet, Dr. Takiuchi replied, "I would say that if .3 milligrams of mercury are being consumed daily by residents of the area one can expect most definitely the appearance of symptoms of the chronic or incomplete type of poisoning in which amounts of mercury have been building up for some time. I would suspect that if, in fact, the residents have been consuming this volume of contaminated fish in their food supplies, then we can expect symptoms of the chronic type. If I were in Canada now as a physician, I would perform preliminary analysis on sense perception. I would try to find out whether there has been a loss of hearing, whether there have been signs of irritability, imparied vision, particularly whether there is impaired hearing."

Dr. G.J. Stops, chief medical consultant to the Ontario Ministry of the Environment, says, "There is no obvious illness in this area that we can in any way attribute to mercury. There are certain things that one finds in the native population that are well known. They do tend to have a lot of ear problems, particularly amongst children. Whether they have more eye problems than the white population is hard to say. Part of this may be that they're not tested as frequently."

Leo Bernier, Ontario's Minister of Natural Resources, "I'm from the great riding of Kenora," he says, "where we have a very severe problem with levels of mercury. The Federal Government has done some very extensive tests on our native peoples. In all walks of life, in all age groups, even to the fact of testing newborn babies." But he admits he has not seen the results of these tests except for broad general statements of which he says, "There is nothing there to cause any alarm to me."

In Minamata, it was twelve or thirteen years after the contamination began before symptoms became obvious. In the Dryden area, according to the federal report, industrial mercury contamination probably began about 1960.

Alcoholism – A Confusing Factor

One particularly confusing problem is alcoholism. Early mercury patients exhibit some symptoms of mental illness. As described in the unpublished federal report, "emotional instability, with fits of anger, depression or rage." In Minamata, the possibility exists that it was this which drove many patients to alcohol.

"Dr. Takiuchi agrees that there are noticeable symptoms in the behaviour of patients in the early stages. "One important thing to do is to ask the patient

his eyes. Ask him to walk a straight line. This is often a good way of diagnosing initial symptoms."

The Kenora Indian people are reputed to have a high incidence of disturbance and violent behaviour which has usually been blamed on [misuse of] alcohol. There have also been indications of violence on the part of cats who became uncoordinated in their movements. A lot of this has not been reported by residents because it has not seemed worth reporting.

In the White Dog and Grassy Narrows communities, the work force numbers about 200. One hundred and forty fishing and guiding jobs have been lost because of mercury.

Marion Lamb, manager of Bald Lake Lodge where many of the Indian guides worked before it was closed says, "We operated for 25 years and in all those years never had a case of any kind of violence. Never in 25 years had any occasion to call the police. Their temperment now, and their whole nature, seems to have changed considerably."

The death rates in these two communities are staggering. From January 1970 to June 1973, according to a study by the Kenora Social Planning Council, nearly 200 Anishnawbeg in the Kenora area died violent deaths. Most were by accident or suicide. At least half the victims had been drinking.

Alcohol is commonly blamed for a wide range of problems affecting Indian people. But in Kenora, perhaps, there may be more to it than drinking. Is there perhaps an epidemic of mercury poisoning in Kenora?

It Would Be Easy To Find Out

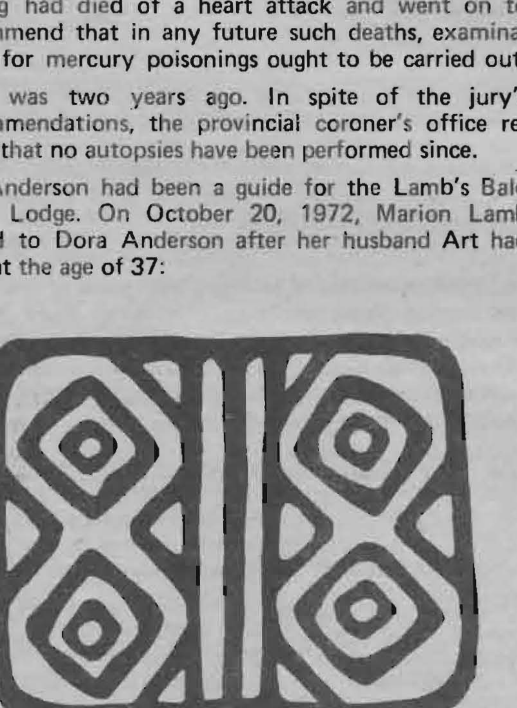
Marion Lamb says she had heard the Department of Health was going to do some testing last September, but "in talking to the Department of Health in Toronto, I learned that there is nothing definite. In fact, it is very indefinite and certainly can't be done [this autumn.] The last one we are aware of any results is in 1972. They didn't come out during the fishing season or at the close of it. They waited until it was December or the middle of winter. After the intake of fish. At that time, they took samples. When they came back out for their task force report, they talked a great deal about the mercury situation, but they didn't give the Indian people the results of their tests until they were ready to leave in their airplane, when they handed each one a sealed envelope."

"After they were gone, they opened them and read that their blood level was, say, 289 parts per billion. Well, this doesn't mean a thing to those Indian people," Lamb says. "There have been quite a few Indian people die in the Kenora area, some of them, I feel, would have been perfect opportunities if they wanted to find out if they had been hurt by mercury. If some brain tissue or tissue needed for the testing for mercury had been taken – to my knowledge this has not been done."

Thomas Strong died in 1972. He was known to be a big fish eater, and the question of mercury poisoning was raised. An inquest was held and was attended by many Indian people. In fact, a very high blood mercury level was found: 224 parts per billion. Dr. G.J. Stops testified that the blood sample must have been contaminated somehow with mercury and there was no proof of poisoning. No other blood sample was analyzed. No tissue was taken. No brain histology was done. The coroner's jury concluded that Thomas Strong had died of a heart attack and went on to recommend that in any future such deaths, examinations for mercury poisonings ought to be carried out.

That was two years ago. In spite of the jury's recommendations, the provincial coroner's office reports that no autopsies have been performed since.

Art Anderson had been a guide for the Lamb's Bald Lake Lodge. On October 20, 1972, Marion Lamb talked to Dora Anderson after her husband Art had died at the age of 37:



"The first time I took him to the hospital, when I came back the next day he didn't know me. He didn't talk. He never talked any more. He was in the hospital in Winnipeg three months." But they could never tell Dora what was troubling her husband. "They always told me there was something wrong with his blood." He could not walk. His condition deteriorated steadily until he died.

Dora Anderson now lives with her mother at Grassy Narrows. She and her family continue to eat the fish. "They catch them from the nets of some of the people" that are set on the river.

Camille Fobister was also a guide for 17 years at Bald Lake Lodge. "We always lived this kind of life," he says. "We always fished and hunted and guided." The Ontario Health Department, he agreed with Marion Lamb, had not been seen around there since November, 1972. At that time, Camille Fobister says, "I heard about it, but I wasn't around."

Asked whether the people at Grassy are still eating the fish from the English River, Camille says, "Well, I don't want to lie to you. We do. They do. They want to eat fish. Like me. I'm always hungry for fish. So we just go right ahead. The younger generation – when they talk about mercury, the older people don't know anything about mercury."

Camille Fobister is dead now at the age of 49. There was no autopsy.

Dr. Stops says, "We must remember that we haven't seen any mercury poisoning. Not that we have to wait until there is poisoning. But it does suggest that since the conditions in the river have existed for some time, and we don't appear to be seeing any deaths due to mercury, that acting in great haste from the point of view of saying you shouldn't eat any of the fish would be ill-advised.'

The final report of the Federal Task Force on Organic Mercury in the Environment, never released to the public, says on page 14, "Because of the persistent nature of the mercury in Wabigon-English River systems, the populations of White Dog and Grassy Narrows must be considered at risk."

On page 5 of the same report it says, "Concentrated at each stage in the food chain level of methyl-mercury in the fish have been reported thirty times the safe standard. These levels pose a threat to the health of fish consumers. All persons who consume mercury-contaminated fish and especially pregnant females must be considered at risk."

The Province of Ontario has a report of its own. Dated 18 February, 1972, a year before Dr. Stops' statement quoted above, says, "Where the fish contain more than one part per million of mercury such as from industrially-polluted waters regular consumption even over relatively short periods may present a hazard to health."

Leo Bernier, the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources, has said his Government should give the Indians an equal amount of land on an unpolluted waterway. "The federal member [of parliament] suggested that to them. They made it very, very clear that they are not interested in relocating their land holdings. And they just rejected it very completely. And I understand that very, very well. Their homes are there. They know the area they're established in. They weren't interested in that proposal at all."

Grassy Narrows and White Dog communities have not long been at their present locations. Grassy Narrows was uprooted and relocated in 1952. White Dog was relocated in 1956 because Ontario Hydro wanted to flood the area they lived in before. According to the federal report, "The shifting of these two bands of native people changed a contented and pleasant way of life to one of frustration and bewilderment."

George Kerr, Ontario Minister of the Environment in 1970, said: "The fact is that the situation in the areas that have been closed for fishing is improving. We have eliminated the known sources of mercury contamination. The mills that have been using mercury – we are monitoring those mills. We are satisfied that there isn't any mercury loss now."

The Minister's control order required that there be no mercury loss. And perhaps that is why he said that there wasn't any. However, according to the unpublished federal report, "From about 1961 to 1970, between 10 and 20 pounds of inorganic mercury was dumped daily into the river from the Chlor-Alkali plant at Dryden. Although mercury effluent discharge from the Dryden mill was reduced by 1970 by ministerial order less than 3%, or a few ounces a day, it may take up to 70 years for the river system to cleanse itself."

In Minamata this year, 29% of junior high school students have been found to show signs of mental deficiency. Barney Lamb of Bald Lake Lodge says: " We see signs that they talk about as being symptoms of mercury poisoning. We see Indians, children many of them, that have – are deformed, retarded. We see Indians that appear to have tunnel vision; they have tremors. Their behaviour pattern has certainly changed.

"Two of the boys from White Dog that had the high levels had a trial. They had beat up an old couple in their homes. From professional information, these are the patterns for people with high mercury levels. We don't think it's going to go away. From the information that we read, we think that it builds up in their bodies. The tissues, brain tissues and so on, are destroyed, and sooner or later it's going to show up. It's taken ten, fifteen years in Japan – and we believe it will show up. It may take time, but it will show."

In Japan, at the peak of the methyl-mercury poisoning, the disease was not yet recognized as mercury poisoning. It was therefore difficult to know just what blood mercury levels were responsible for the damage. By the time several years later that widespread testing of patients had begun, mercury levels in patients had already dropped.

Eileen Smith thinks that the same problem might be occuring in the Treaty 3 area. The present blood levels may not give any indication of harm that has already been done. "It leaves the blood and could already have damaged the brain."

Eileen went to the Kenora area this summer. "What did I see when I went to Kenora? I'm obviously not any medical expert, but I have seen a lot of methyl-mercury poisoning. And what I saw in Kenora was not just people who looked ill. The general attitude is that methyl-mercury poisoning is very dramatic. Yes, it is very dramatic, but there is also subtle methyl-mercury poisoning. And people who can't walk straight or have tingling of the finger tips, who can't see very well, should be looked at clinically. Because these are symptoms of methyl-mercury poisoning.

"Just the very few people I talked to who I knew had high blood levels – even as a layman testing them, I found vision constriction. I just tested three people and I found vision constriction in three people and numbing of the finger tips. All of them said they had it And the way they described the heaviness in the back of their head. The way they described the tingling in their hands and their feet. It's like a carbon copy of that the [Japanese] patients say.

" And then at the end, they asked me, 'Well, what are the symptoms of methyl-mercury poisoning?' And you know, what can I say? They've just described them to me. Now I'm a layman and I can't just say, 'Aha, this is it!' But it certainly warrants more testing. People should be tested. They're definitely eating the fish with a high content of mercury. Those people should be tested clinically. And thoroughly, too."

Eugene Smith says, "From what Eileen has told me, in Canada you're about 3 to 5 years away from a real Minamata type outbreak. Constricted vision is never caused by alcohol. Tingling fingers are not caused by this, or by syphilis or the things they're trying to blame it on. I think Canada has to face up to the fact that they're in a danger of an exactinamata duplicate with really tragic results."

On her return to Japan from Kenora, Eileen Smith sent Dr. Takiuchi data on the Canadian situation. The letter she got back said, "I have been shocked by the high mercury levels in the fish. With levels such as this, if consumption continues, symptoms will appear sooner or later. . . It must certainly be that the doctors in that area are looking thoroughly into this situation."

Eileen Smith responds to Dr. Takiuchi's expectations of his Canadian colleagues. "I think Dr. Takiuchi has too much faith. You know, they suffered from two environmental cases here from mercury. The Japanese have learned the hard way. Surely the Canadians know better than to learn the hard way. I think he's got too much faith. He's seen it. He knows what it's like here. What happens after the pollution occurs. And I think he is sure that nobody would ever want anything like this any more.

"But from the way the Canadians talk, you know the doctors I interviewed, they don't feel that way. And I think it is very unfortunate."

George Kerr, minister of the environment in 1970, said at that time, "Now there is still a great deal of concern about mercury contamination in fish and how long it will take the fish to lose it, and to lower the mercury count. The statement we've had from our scientists is about twelve weeks. This was the original statement. Assuming that fish is not subject to any more contamination, we're hoping that by next summer the problem will be over."

Remember that the federal report previously quoted said that it will take seventy years for the waterway to clear. Other scientific reports have said that decontamination will take "centuries."

(continued on next page)

Leo Bernier says, "I'm not convinced it's as serious a problem as some people make it out to be." His department, on questioning, was unable to provide any information on mercury levels after 1971.

Information has been a key issue in environmental issues everywhere. Quebec found the ideal solution to environmentalists, if not to the concerns to which they were pointing, when it gave the James Bay Development Corporation the power under the Municipal Code to prohibit the entry of journalists into the area.

"The free flow of information and data on mercury in the environment for the Province of Ontario is impeded for reasons not clearly understood. This difficulty has not been experienced with other groups either within Canada or abroad," according to page eighteen, paragraph eleven of the study – which itself is not released – of the Department of National Health and Welfare of the Federal Government of Canada, dated August, 1973.

The report says elsewhere: "Japanese data suggest that a blood level of mercury which might be associated with symptoms could be reached by eating 14½ ounces of fish per day if the fish contain .5 parts per million of mercury", the so-called safe standard in North America. "If the fish contain ten times the safe standard, as many pike and pickerel in the St. Clair and English-Wabigon River systems have been found to do, then an ounce-and-a-half of fish, if eaten daily, or a single helping of about ten ounces if eaten weekly, could give rise to poisoning in some people."

It is common for Anishnawbeg at White Dog, Grassy Narrows, and other communities in the Kenora area to eat fish three times a day.

The St. Clair fishermen have been given loans which are likely to be forgiven though they will give neither the fishermen nor their children a means of livelihood. No alternative food supply has been made available to the Anishnawbeg of White Dog and Grassy Narrows.

The effluent from the Dryden plant which flows into the Wabigon-English River system finds its way into the Winnipeg. The Province of Ontario has undertaken no suit against Dryden. But the province of Manitoba has taken the downstream claim to court – for the commercial fishermen on Lake Winnipeg.

What do the Anishnawbeg eat for supper tonight?

T.S. Jones, vice president of the Reid Paper Company, owners of the Dryden Chemical and Pulp and Paper Companies, says the transfer to non-mercury processing is coming "very favourably. The changeover will be completed in the fall of 1975."

He says the information he has received from the federal government indicates that the fish in Clay Lake are now safe to eat.

The unreleased 1973 federal report on mercury pollution says, "The Wabigon and English River systems on which the native communities of White Dog and Grassy Narrows are situated became polluted with inorganic mercury from the chlor-alkali plant at the mill in Dryden. From about 1961 to 1970 between ten and twenty pounds of inorganic mercury was dumped daily into the river. As the inorganic mercury became assimilated into the food chain, chemical processes converted it into organic or methyl mercury. Concentrated at each step in the food chain, levels of methyl mercury in fish have been reported at thirty times the safe standard. These levels of mercury in fish pose a threat to the health of fish consumers and are of special concern to the unborn fetus."

Shinobo Sakomoto went to the United Nations Conference on the Environment in Stockholm in 1973 to stand as a living witness to the cost of industrial and government negligence. Many people felt it was cruel to put Shinobo on display. Could she really know what was happening.

She says she knew very well. "I didn't want to go very much, but I went for everybody else. So that they would know what can happen."

One day, Shinobo pointed to a tape recorder and said to Eileen Smith, "I want to talk." In her very clumsy, difficult way of speaking, she made others aware that she, and others like her, have feelings too. Eugene Smith described the event by saying, "We just never realize that these kind of people might be able to react and have these kind of feelings.'

Kimono University doctors took a film of the first patients. According to Eugene and Eileen Smith, it portrays patients in convulsions just ripping at themselves. "The convulsions are so rapid you can hardly see the faces. They are so emaciated that they are just skin and bones. And that happened very rapidly. The faces are just gouged out.

"The cats that they poisoned are also terrible. Cats always clean themselves. These cats are filthy because they can't clean themselves. The've lost all their motor functions and they're falling all over the place. They roll in their saliva and they drip in their food. They teeter all over. After a period of convulsion ends they are just panting, lying there kind of limp. And then they get up, teeter around, and start going around in circles and have another convulsion."

Methyl-mercury poison destroys the brain cells. It eats them away.

1970 was the year of the big mercury scare in the Kenora area and in Lake St. Clair. But the suddenness of the discovery was odd because some of the industries had been dumping mercury into the waterways for at least a decade.

According to the Ontario Government, up until 1973, the Dow Chemical plant in Sarnia was dumping mercury into the St. Clair River which flows into Lake St. Clair, between Lakes Huron and Erie. According to the Ontario Government, mercury was leaking from Dow as far back as 1949.

Anishnawbeg at Grassy Lake and White Dog, commercial non-native fishermen at Lake St. Clair, and experienced journalists in Toronto have [something] in common – information on the problem is hard to pry loose.

George Kerr, when he was Ontario minister of the environment in 1970, agreed that there is "no reason why these surveys which end up in a report should not be made public. This is the only way to stop any rumours or erroneous statements. This is a regular program of Ontario Water Resources Commission." The catch is the phrase," "any of these surveys which end up in a report." If the information held by the ministry has not been put into a report, then, they say, it's not for release. Or they don't know where the data is. Or it's not finished yet.

But instead of a ban on pollution, or a ban on fishing, there has been a ban on information in Ontario. On October 15, 1974, CBC's *As It Happens* was told by the ministry of the environment that they cannot give them any mercury information because of the [suit the province had filed against Dow Chemical several years ago and which it has not pressed forward in court.]

On October 17, a different question is asked. Does the Ministry of Natural Resources have information about which waters and which fish are safe? Never heard of it. Check with the regional offices. When the regional offices of the ministry of natural resources in Kenora was asked by phone, "Which lakes are safe to fish in?" the answer was, "That depends on what you mean by safe."

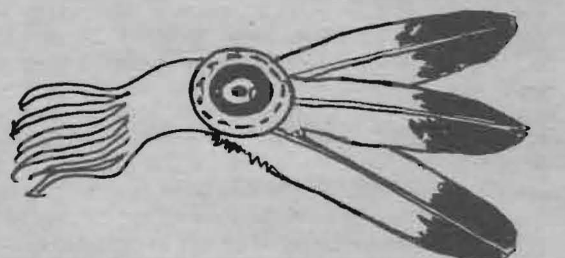
In April, 1970, the Toronto *Globe and Mail* reported an interview with a government expert on information about mercury. "We have all their papers, but they're written in Swedish and Japanese and we can't read them."

It will be little consolation to the Anishnawbeg of the Kenora and Dryden area that not only has Manitoba managed a successful suit against the Dryden mills, but the state of Ohio has been partially successful in gaining a court order against Dow Chemical of Canada for its polluting of the St. Clair waters at Sarnia. An action begun in the United States Supreme Court advised the state to begin suit against Dow U.S. for damages caused by its subsidiary, based on the strength of its holdings in Ohio. The Court of Common Pleas in Cleveland made a summary judgment against the Dow Chemical Company at Sarnia and Wyandot Chemical Company of Detroit, Michigan, in February, 1974.

The judge in Cleveland found that the chemicals placed in the river system at Sarnia created a nuisance which endangered Ohio, and that the mercury was a toxic substance creating a health hazard in the drinking water for millions of Ohioans. He rejected the defense that the mercury only poisoned the fish a little bit.

Justice is One River

When the Ojibway Warriors Society [and Native People's Caravan] visited Ottawa for the opening of Parliament September 30, Louis Cameron, an Anishnawbe from White Dog, was repeatedly questioned by reporters about violence. Prime Minister Trudeau said how his government would never negotiate with violent people. Indian Affairs Minister Judd Buchan said he would not negotiate over the barrel of a gun. Louis Cameron insisted that the Caravan, including the Ojibway Warriors, had come in peace to seek justice for their people.



The Cree have a saying, "If you destroy the river, the river will destroy you." The question which remains unanswered is why so many who have lived for so long in harmony with the river – with all the rivers, must suffer and die.

(All the ministers of the Government of Ontario mentioned in this article can be reached by writing them c/o Ontario Legislature, Toronto, Ontario. Federal representatives for the constituency of Kenora-Rainy River are John M. Reid, House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada.)

(A tape of this article, as it was done on radio, is available from AKWESASNE NOTES at usual tape prices.)

BUCHANAN TELLS ANISHNAWBEG TO SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS – "DON'T LOOK TO GOVERNMENT FOR HELP"

Grassy Narrows, Ontario – "Thanks for coming," a little boy calls out after a guest who has come to his classroom in the reservation school.

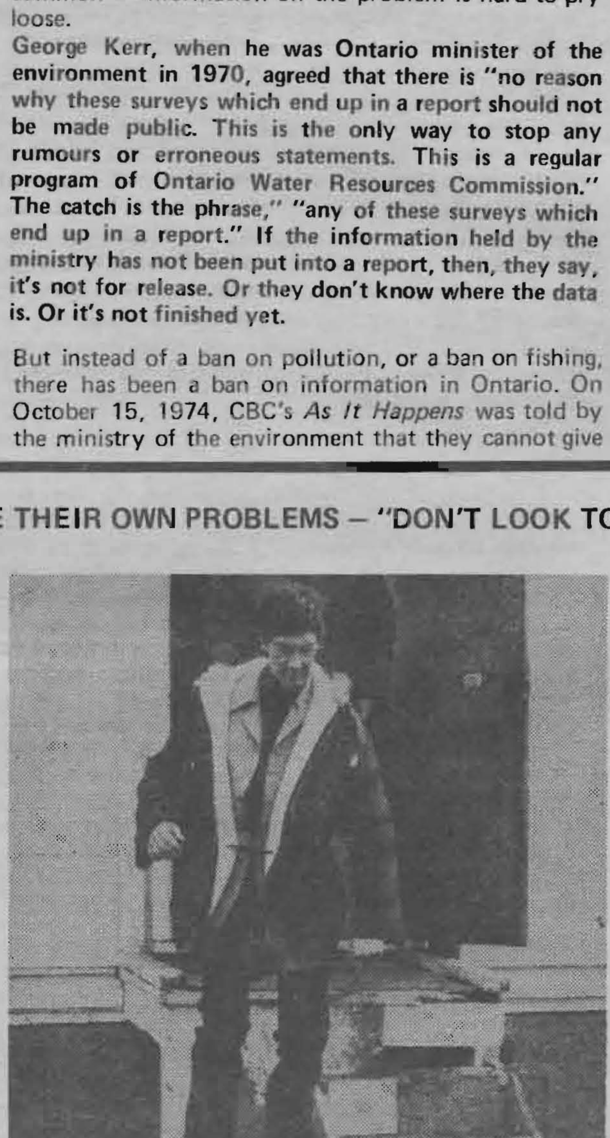
The visitor is Judd Buchanan, minister of Indian Affairs in Canada. The little boy is one of 138 youngsters in a school built for 60.

Problems here – for whatever reason – caused some residents to join in the armed occupation of a municipal park in Kenora for a month last summer.

At a Treaty Council dinner earlier in the week, it must have impressed Buchanan that the occupation was a scream for attention to the pressing social and economic problems of the people here. Militancy is growing among the young of both sexes.

"Everyone of those people at the park this summer had been touched deeply by a violent death – one or both parents, brother or sister, close relatives," Peter Kelly told Buchanan. "The warriors are not misguided people – they're very kind people who care about Indians."

During his visit to Kenora and three reserves, Buchanan was repeatedly hit – with gentleness – with criticism of the department's bureaucracy and some personnel. His apparently casual comments in reply added up to a subtle message for the Indians: don't look to the Government for help with your problems. Indians must look elsewhere for assistance.

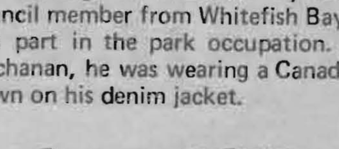


– Rudy Platiel /Toronto Globe & Mail photo

Judd Buchanan Comes to Grassy Narrows

But the rising tide of feeling growing out of the violent reality of native life here may mean there is more trouble than time left. As Buchanan and his entourage flew out of Kenora, Kelly turned to a reporter and said: "If there is no change after this, then it is going to be a long, hot summer next year."

At the banquet, Buchanan shared the head table with Louis Cameron, who led the Ojibway Warriors' Society in seizing the park and holding authorities at bay. Cameron was also one of the leaders of the caravan which clashed with the RCMP riot squad on Parliament Hill. The meeting was addressed by Joseph Bird, a young council member from Whitefish Bay who said he had taken part in the park occupation. As he stood beside Buchanan, he was wearing a Canadian flag sewn upside down on his denim jacket.



(Thanks to Rudy Platiel of the Toronto Globe and Mail for most of the information used here.)

A REPORT ON CONDITIONS OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF CANADA

(This article is a transcript of an interview with James Wilson, author of a report on conditions of the native people of Canada for the Minority Rights Group in London, England. Wilson toured Canada with informal assistance from the National Indian Brotherhood in the summer of 1973. Although his words are academically-refined they are, in large part, faithful reportage of what community leaders and Brotherhood spokesmen across Canada were willing to say and able to demonstrate.

(Wilson's report has received widespread coverage in the Canadian media. Canadian authorities have said they want to study it in depth. The same words said by native leaders have gone ignored. This, in itself, is the best proof of the continuing colonialism and racist attitudes within the Department of Indian Affairs and in the general population to which Wilson points.

(Also of interest is the fact that the liberal establishment in England which supports the British Minority Rights Group is in a good position to know about "the bad conscience of many white people." These are the great-grandchildren of the generation that bought back James Bay from itself and sold it to Canada.

(The Minority Rights Group includes among its sponsors the environmentalist Barbara Ward, the U.N. Namibia Commissioner, Sean McBride. Other reports issued by the Group have dealt with the situation of oppressed minorities such as blacks in South Africa, gypsies in Europe, and the Nagas tribe of India. Now it is Canada's turn to come under scrutiny.

(Wilson himself is a teacher and social worker.)

I think ideas [that Indians are little better than savages] were used to justify an extremely contemptuous attitude toward the natives and justify all kinds of what would be regarded between ordinary [sic] nations as theft and murder and larceny, and justified an assault on native culture. It was politically expedient to increasingly exploit the Indians, either for trade or for military assistance, or finally to get them off the land so as it could be developed and colonized.

I think the problem is that because these attitudes have been so bound up with political expansion, because they are so central to be able to justify the expansion of Canada in moral terms. It is because a lot of white Canadians are very reluctant to change now. If you suddenly say, "The Indian wasn't such a bad fellow after all – he was all right until we came along," it removes all the justification you have for having expanded and become a very powerful nation in the past hundred years.

The Department [of Indian Affairs] is, first of all, a large bureaucracy. And no one, for the moment, has been able to devise another means for "administering the Indians" except through a large bureaucracy. I think the Department has constantly been very slow to respond to initiatives from the Indians. When money has been spent, its very often been spent on schemes devised in Ottawa rather than schemes which someone on a reserve considers necessary.

The second problem, I think, is that the philosophy of the Department is essentially a paternalistic one. It was established to administer an "inferior race" with no very clear long-term ideas on what would happen, but with a vague idea that you could somehow or other stop Indians being corrupted by peddlars and so on and at the same time you could probably make them adopt the best characteristics of white civilization. And it has obviously failed to do both of these things.

There is definitely a reactionary undercurrent in the Department with people who feel that autonomy is being given too quickly to the Indians, and there should be a slowing down, and that the transfer of power should be over a much more gradual period. And that the Indians shouldn't really get all that they want. [They believe] there should be negotiations to try to make sure that their demands are moderated.

Indians have been living in a welfare economy for nearly a hundred years now, and living in a highly demoralized level. They are bound to need a certain amount of time in which to experiment, in which to take responsibilities, possibly even in which to abuse responsibilities a little bit if they are to progress as a people towards some kind of independence, some kind of self-respect.

I don't think the Government should be asked to fund projects which are, in themselves, economically unviable. They should be prepared to give more money to an Indian project which is economically viable than to the ordinary projects because I think it will cost more time and money for the Indians to find out how to use their resources.

If you consider very cursorily just how much Canada has derived from taking what belongs to the Indians, it is a very small recompense indeed.

A little meanness now means a lot of expense later. Although it seems like an enormous amount of money is being requested by the Indians now, if it is not given to them, in thirty or forty years when this problem comes up again, it will be ruinously more expensive than it is at the moment.

Really, what is required at the moment is a startling demonstration of generosity and good will, good faith, of acceptance, if you like, for these people who feel very rejected, by a Government which has been regarded with justification with a great deal of suspicion by the Indians. A very striking gesture at this point would make a great deal of difference. I think it would set the scene for a much better atmosphere between, first of all, the Indians and the Government, and ultimately Indians and white people. I think there is a strong element of bad conscience amongst white people. I think it might ease their minds to some extent if they saw the Government behaving generously. But, I think essentially it is a gesture which can remove suspicion and pave the way to a much more natural and much healthier relationship between the two races.

AN EDITORIAL ANALYSIS

Native peoples generally do not regard the borders dividing the colonial powers as applying to them. Thus it is natural that "Canadian" natives would call themselves members of the American Indian Movement very easily. To Indian Affairs Minister Judd Buchanan, however, AIM is an organization, not a movement, and he feels that it should keep out of Canada. Threats of physical support by "United States" Indians for "Canadian" Indians, he said, "would be a very undesirable export from the U.S." Buchanan would "much prefer" that U.S. natives would "stay at home and mind their own business. That's where they belong."

During the seige of Wounded Knee last year, North American media networks effectively instilled in the public the attitude that AIM is paired to militant Indians and violence. Buchanan plays on this, knowing full well that images of violence die hard in a naive mental universe.

In reality, "AIM" is a native sense of Indianness, of direction and purpose. For elders like Black Elk at Wounded Knee, AIM is the bond already existing between native people who are awakening to know that before them lies a great task involving All Peoples – if Man is to regain balance and create a greater tomorrow for life and consciousness on Mother Earth. For young Indians, AIM is an identity with Indians in motion perceived perhaps recklessly, but seeing too that faith in the guidance by elders is part of the process that adds dignity and wholeness to being Indian. AIM is an organizer towards Indian civil rights as it is the warrior arm of the people, guided through the Peace Chiefs. Moreover, AIM, like the mind, transcends physical borders.

. . . What people readily forget is that Indians residing at Wounded Knee declared their freedom to the world, requesting AIM support to defend their rights. It is not as if they went out and conquered somebody, but a matter of: "You have encroached too far on our land, our homes, and our lives. This is it. No more. From now on recognize our rights and redress the wrongs you have committed against our people."

Canada must face it now – the American Indian Movement is here to stay. And Indians will continue organizing themselves at a grassroots level to defend what is left of the Earth they inhabit.

* * * * * * * * *

The National Indian Brotherhood aspirations take on an international flavour. By April of this year, the NIB had already attained United Nations recognition as a non-government organization, despite opposition from Britain, France, and the United States of America.

Plans are in the making for a world conference of indigenous peoples to be held next summer in either the U.S. or Canada whose purpose would be the formation of an international political force of native peoples. To date, Maori organizations in New Zealand have pledged $50,000 towards the conference. The U.S. National Congress of American Indians has pledged $150,000; other groups have committed $100,000.

Within Canada, however, the NIB must exert its pressure along well-defined channels. Finance comes directly or otherwise from the Department of Indian Affairs. It cannot speak for Indians who are not legally defined as such by arbitrary Canadian law – nor does it represent the million or so Metis whose racial or cultural identity may be nebulous but whose problems are very real. . . Unless Native People continue to press demands directly upon Ottawa, the Brotherhood will have little real bite beyond being a token organization sponsored by Ottawa as a showcase of Liberal [Party] "fair-play".

It is, moreover, in Ottawa's strategic interests to maintain tension between NIB and the Indian Community to delay as long as possible a consolidated effort by Native People in addressing their very deep grievances meaningfully to those who have the financial and legal power to do something about it: the Federal Government. Playing favorites may be a volatile game that the Liberals cannot contain forever.

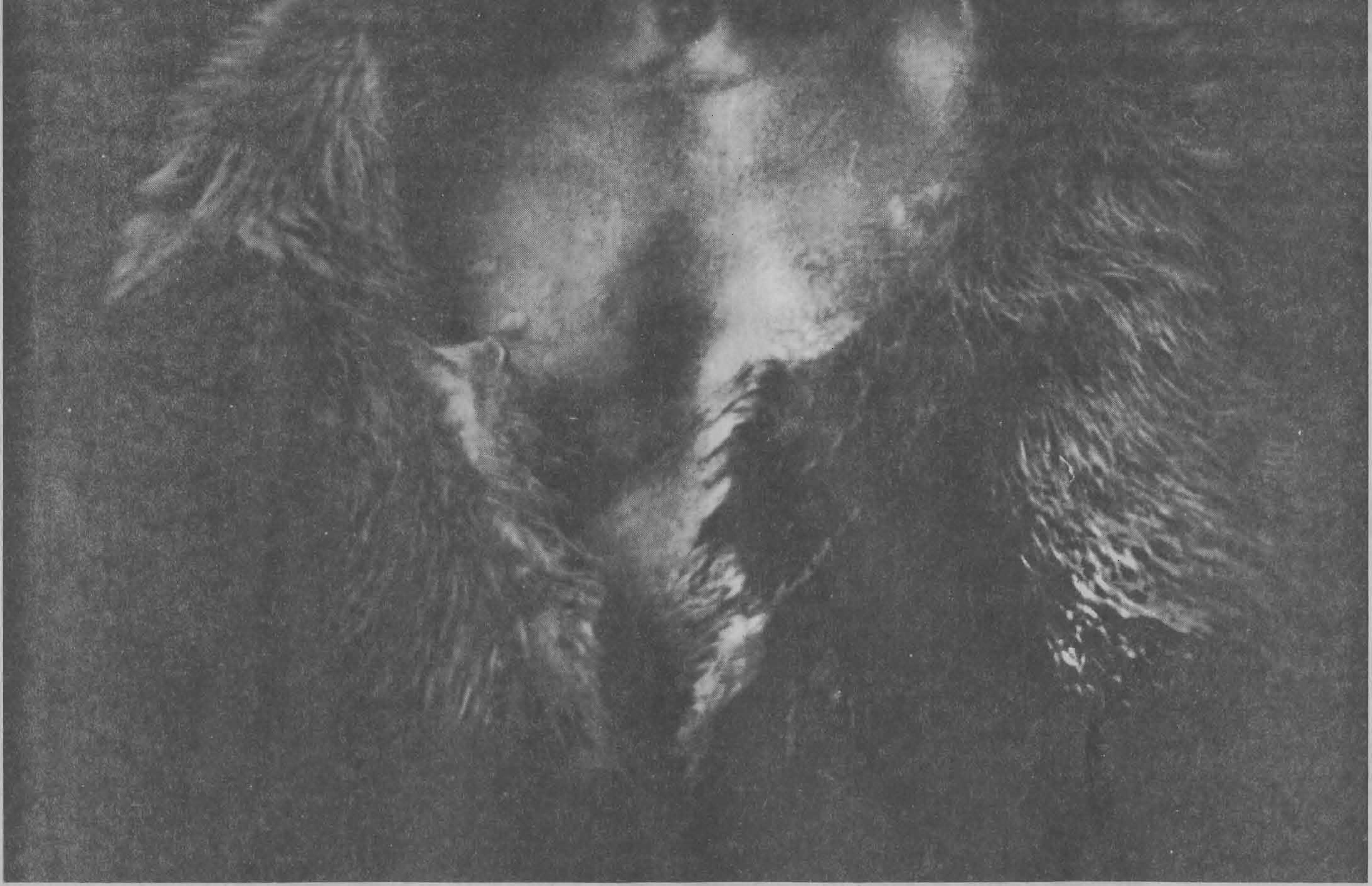
Already the circle has turned back upon itself. In the absence of any reply from Ottawa to the reasons behind the formation of the Native People's Caravan, amid its continued disinterest in even meeting caravan members, the NIB was prompted to issue four demands in its October 3 statement. These included:

- *an independent investigation of circumstances surrounding the demonstration on Parliament Hill, to be headed by no less an authority than a justice of Canada's Supreme Court;*
- *transformation of the Department of Indian Affairs to make it more responsive and responsible to Indians, instead of the colonialistic, self-perpetuating blob it has been throughout the years;*
- *Indian control of all funds within the department, and a reversal of the department spending which allocates three-quarters of its budget to departmental operations and only one quarter to Indian communities;*
- *and most importantly, replacement of the Indian Affairs Office of Claims by an independent body which would study treaty rights, aboriginal rights, and land claims. The body should consist of two government appointees, two Indian appointees, and a director of international quality.*

Perhaps more quickly than anticipated by Indian Affairs strategists, the NIB has been propelled by Native Peoples Caravan actions to an unprecedented level of leadership, amid the embarrassing failure by Ottawa in assuming that the Indian Question might be submerged again if only that pesky caravan could be provoked into shameful acts of demonstrable violence. Had that occurred, the NIB and other federally-recognized native organizations would have found themselves in the ticklish position of having to publically condemn a sector of Indian people or run the risk of being identified with "militant extremists". The Canadian Government faces now – not a fractured native population – but one that has forcefully demonstrated its collective will to unite as never before as a Native North American People.

(This editorial opinion is by the Walrus writing in Georgia Straight, Vancouver's Free Press, British Columbia. We are grateful to that paper for its continuing coverage.)

"We did not think of the great open plains, the beautiful rolling hills, and winding streams with tangled growth, as "wild". Only to the white man was nature a "wilderness" infested with "wild" animals and "savage" people. To us it was tame. Earth was bountiful and we were surrounded with the blessings of the Great Mystery."



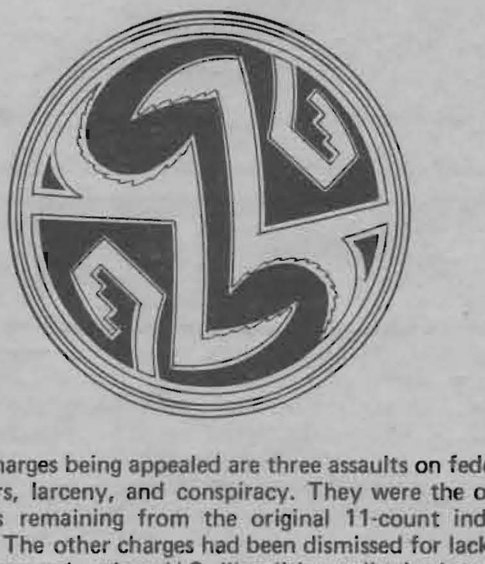
In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for $1, or 50 cents each. (Please add an extra 50 cents for a cardboard mailing tube if you want them shipped

WOUNDED KNEE.... The Other Trials..

Washington, D.C. – The United States of America has decided to appeal Judge Fred Nichol's dismissal of five felony charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks. The appeal will be heard by the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis this winter.

The decision to appeal was made by U.S. Solicitor General Robert Bork in the face of a unique campaign by many of the jurors in the case who travelled to Washington to tell Attorney General William Saxbe that they would have never voted for convictions and urged the U.S. to drop remaining charges against remaining Wounded Knee defendants.

Pending the appeal decision, the trials of Leonard Crow Dog, Stanley Holder, Carter Camp and Clyde Bellecourt – whom the Government has tagged as leaders of the Wounded Knee occupation of 1973 – will be delayed.



The charges being appealed are three assaults on federal officers, larceny, and conspiracy. They were the only counts remaining from the original 11-count indictment. The other charges had been dismissed for lack of evidence and various U.S. illegalities earlier in the trial. The five remaining charges were dismissed by Nichol after the jury began deliberating the case. Deliberations had been halted when one juror, Therese Cherrier, suffered a stroke.

Nichol had cited the Government's bad faith in prosecution, failure to comply with court orders, and handling of a key witness, Louis Moves Camp, as the reason for granting the dismissal. Prosecutor R.D. Hurd said, however, that Nichol had penalized the prosecution for exercising a legitimate option when it refused to agree to an 11-member jury.

The U.S. had already appealed two of the first round of dismissals. That appeal involved two counts of impeding federal officers by commanding the installation of roadblocks and bunkers at Wounded Knee. Nichol dismissed those counts because he ruled there was improper military involvement in the civil disturbance at Wounded Knee. There was some indication that the Government would withdraw this phase of the appeal to concentrate on the last five charges dismissed.

The Jury Reconvenes Itself

The meeting of a majority of the jury members, accompanied by several religious leaders, law school deans, and civil rights leaders met at the Justice Department on November 12 to urge that all charges in the remaining 106 Wounded Knee federal indictments be dropped.

The group of about fifty people demanded that Attorney General Saxbe help to secure the dismissal of the charges so that an "era of reconciliation" be initiated between Indians and non-Indians. That era would be accompanied by a serious discussion on treaties and a lessening of control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs over the lives of Indian people, they said.

Saxbe, however, refused to meet with the group. He sent Dallas Salisbury, director of policy and planning, as a replacement. Salisbury refused to discuss the dismissals, claiming he couldn't under the Justice Department's "canon of ethics.'

"It is absurd to say that the Attorney General is prevented from discussing a matter of public policy,' commented Mel Wulf, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), who was present at the historic meeting.

Maureen Coonan, one of the jurors, told Salisbury that by the end of the trial, "most of us were no longer impartial" and could not go home, forget what they had learned, and "abandon moral responsibility" to change the situation of native peoples.

Fran Aiken added: "The leaders are not guilty, so I cannot see how we can prosecute the followers." Neither of the jurors were optimistic about their Justice Department reception. They felt they had "gotten the runaround again – it's the same way the FBI answered questions on the witness stand," Coonan said.

Twelve of the sixteen jurors, led by Therese Cherrier who had been claimed by the prosecution as the one most likely to convict Means and Banks, had written Saxbe earlier. "For mory than eight months, beginning in January of this year, we have served as jurors at the Wounded Knee trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means," the letter began. Noting that the Government would not have been able to get a conviction from them on any count, the group said, "In our view, a Government that cannot, in an eight-month trial, present enough evidence against the leaders of the Wounded Knee siege to secure a conviction on any count should for moral and ethical reasons drop the criminal charges against all the other Indian people and their supporters."

Ken Tilsen, one of the defense attorneys, says he believes that if the Circuit Court would order a new trial, Banks and Means would be exposed to double jeopardy unconstitutionally. Under the U.S. Constitution, the government cannot prosecute people twice on the same charge. However, the Ford Administration is continuing the Nixon Administration's effort to repeal this constitutional prohibition.

The 8th Circuit Appeals Court consolidated the Means/Banks appeal with two other cases the U.S. wants reconsidered. They involve obstruction of law enforcement officers charges against Gregoria Jaramillo and Michael E. Sturdvant which were dismissed by Judge Warren Urbom in Lincoln earlier this autumn.

It now appears that the Justice Department will proceed with conspiracy charges against two – not four – of the AIM leaders it had singled out. Carter Camp and Stan Holder will face charges, apparently, while the Justice Department apparently has informed defense lawyers that it will not press conspiracy charges against Clyde Bellecourt and Leonard Crow Dog. The Justice Department avers it has a "strong case" against Camp and Holder, but was fearful of prosecuting an individual respected as a medicine man by many native people.

If Banks wins his appeal, he has just one more federal trial and one state trial. However, Means may be caught up in court litigation for the next two years. In addition to a Phoenix federal charge of conspiracy to buy guns, he faces these charges:

> *Nebraska state charges of carrying a concealed weapon (which he said was given to him by a jail guard for an "escape attempt" and which he turned in from his cell) and assault upon an officer in Scottsbluff, Nebraska in December, 1972, during an Indian/Chicano Unity conference.*
>
> *– South Dakota state charges arising out of the Custer, S.D., mele on February 6, 1973, when Oglalas seeking to consult with the county attorney were met by police. Means is optimistic of acquittal in this case "because I was in custody when everything went down."*
>
> *– South Dakota charges arising from the Sioux Falls, South Dakota, courtroom police riot which caused injuries to several native persons during trials of several Custer defendants.*
>
> *– U.S. charges arising from a disturbance in a local country club in Mission, South Dakota, this summer when Means and others dining there were confronted by police. A police car ended up being shot up and a youth was shot and seriously injured.*

Court dates have not yet been set.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull is Released

The campaign to get Sarah Bad Heart Bull, convicted defendant of the Custer confrontation last February free while her appeal case is being heard, brought results November 15 when the state decided to parole her. She had been held without bond since June 21, one day after she was found guilty on charges of riot.

The charge arose when two hundred Oglalas and AIM members went to Custer to discuss charges brought against a gas station owner who had stabbed Sarah Bad Heart Bull's son, Wesley, to death. Their demonstration was escalated into a battle with police. South Dakota prosecutors characterized Sarah as "dangerous" to society, and asked that she be denied bail pending the appeal of her 1-5 year sentence.

Successive appeals to federal district court and the South Dakota Supreme Court failed to get bond set for her. But on November 1, a massive rally was held on her behalf in Pierre, South Dakota's capital, and petitions were circulated demanding her release.

Petitions containing 7,000 signatures were presented to Ted Munster, a representative of Governor Kneip. Supporters arrived for the rally in a caravan of 67 cars from the reservation town of Fort Thompson, 60 miles away. They also demanded the release of Kenneth Dahl, Bob High Eagle, and John Carlson, also in prison for Custer-related convictions.

The rally, held on the steps of the state capitol which was girded with extensive security precautions, was addressed by Marlon Brando, Paul Boe, Dennis Banks, Russell Means, Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, Ellen Moves Camp, and several defense attorneys.

Ellen Moves Camp spoke of the "justice" in the state. She said that "the goon squad" had been set loose, and yet it has not been brought to trial for its continued acts of terrorism on the Pine Ridge Reservation "while Sarah and the others are put in jail."

In the face of all that, the state set her sentence at one year, and the State Parole Board recommended that she be paroled. She was released in parole board custody, which demands that she live in Sioux Falls. A parole officer took her directly from prison to Rapid City to get her children and back to Sioux Falls. She was permitted no contact with her lawyers.

* * * * * * * *

Warfield Milo Goings, 29, is back in federal custody. His name was familiar to many who followed Wounded Knee legal activity – federal officers had kept spiriting him around the country to avoid producing him in court for hearings – Goings finally was able to prove he was being held unjustly, having served all his time on a previous charge rather than being in violation of his parole.

This time he was charged with assaulting a Sioux County rancher, Raymond Luger, on the Standing Rock Reservation in early November with a .22-caliber pistol. The incident allegedly occurred in a Fort Yates bar, but no one was injured. He appeared before U.S. Magistrate Harry J. Pearce in Bismarck. Bail was set at $5,000 and Goings was remanded in custody.

Treaty Rights to be Heard

A legal test of native rights under the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie will come about December 16 when U.S. District Court Judge Warren K. Urbom has scheduled a hearing to determine whether the convictions of Reginald Dodge, Colin Wesaw, Mark Fleury, and Larry Johns, all of Chicago, violate the men's rights under the treaty.

Urbom found the men guilty of a conspiracy to "obstruct, impede, or interfere with U.S. marshals and FBI agents" during the occupation of Wounded Knee, The case was the first in which the U.S. had gained a conviction. The victory for the U.S. was also important, since it had been trying hard to win a conviction on any charges arising from April 27, the day Buddy Lamont was killed by rifle-fire while he was inside the occupied village.

Lincoln Jury Also Acquits

A jury of 12 on November 15 found Stanley Neptune not guilty of assaulting a federal officer in connection with the Wounded Knee occupation. This was the first Wounded Knee case actually to be decided by a jury – others had been decided by judge alone, or had never reached the jury, or were dismissed by the court.

"This case is an example of the gigantic waste of money by the Government in its cruel and unusual attempt to stamp out any form of protest by native American people," the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee in Lincoln said.

Evidence was introduced showing that Neptune had rented a car in Connecticut on March 6, 1973, drove to South Dakota with his wife, Kathy Paul, their baby, and a few acquaintances. They arrived in South Dakota on March 8. On March 9, Neptune was stopped at a U.S. roadblock on the way into Wounded Knee, but was allowed to enter the village after being questioned.

The following day, March 10, the Oglalas and the U.S. agreed to remove the roadblocks and open Wounded Knee to those who wanted to enter or leave. On March 11, Neptune left, was questioned and searched, and was left to continue on his way.

On March 12, he attempted to re-enter Wounded Knee. The roadblocks were back up again. He was stopped at an FBI roadblock, told to get out of the car, which they did. The car was searched, and nothing suspicious was found. In the trunk, agents found an ornamental knife. The knife was introduced in evidence, even though it had nothing to do with the offense for which Neptune was charged.

At any rate, Neptune understood that he was being permitted to again enter Wounded Knee. He and the others got into the car and moved it slowly a few feet. Then FBI agent Gerald Bertineau told Neptune to pull the car over and get out. Neptune said he had just been cleared. Agent Humphrey said that before the car stopped, its front tire rolled up onto the pointed toe of his cowboy boot. Humphrey said he jerked his foot back before the tire could roll too heavily on his toe.

Immediately, Humphrey sprawled out on top of the hood of the car, handgun drawn and pointed at Neptune, just like in the movies. Agents had begun to wrestle Neptune from the car – he was "resisting" by holding on to the steering wheel. Neptune was taken into custody, but Kathy Paul and the baby were allowed to continue on into Wounded Knee.

Neptune was charged with an assault on Humphrey.

In Sioux Falls, trials began for defendants in the Sioux Falls police-riot-in-the-courtroom case. All pre-trial defense motions were denied by Judge John Wilds.

On October 8, Wilds held a hearing on a motion to postpone the case which alleged that the excessive and hostile publicity given to the fracas, which was precipitated when the Sioux Falls tactical squad, armed in full riot gear, began beating native people who would not stand up when Judge Joseph Bottum entered the courtroom where Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Kenneth Dahl, Robert High Eagle, David Hill, and Lou Beane were on trial for the February 6, 1973, Custer courthouse protest. Non-Indian spectators, who also did not stand, were not touched by the police.

In denying the continuance, Judge Wilds said that there had been no specific showing of adverse publicity to any of the named defendants, nor was it clear to the court that all were members of the American Indian Movement, and furthermore, that there had been no showing of prejudice against AIM. The trials are to go on with the next jury panel.

On October 21, the case of Richard Garnier, charged with cattle-rustling during the Wounded Knee occupation, was thrown out by Judge Urbom. The trial lasted approximately 20 minutes as the attorney for the prosecution told the court that he was unable to locate any of the Government witnesses.

Two other trials are in progress at this writing. Rachel White Dress, a life-long resident of Wounded Knee, and her daughter, Helen Red Feather, are charged with burglary and larceny of the Wounded Knee Trading Post. Their trial began November 14 before Judge Bruce Van Sickle.

On November 18, another case will begin before Judge Warren Urbom. Defendants Manuel Alvarado, Newman Crowels and Terry Williams are charged with burglary.

Neptune's case brings to a total of 41 the Wounded Knee acquittals and dismissals. There have been four convictions, and one plea. Still, that is only about one third of all the Wounded Knee cases. A shortage of lawyers and funds has hampered the work of the legal committee.

Funds may be sent to:
Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense
Committee
POBox 80931
Lincoln, Nebraska 68501

Justice In America

(These are excerpts from an editorial appearing in the November 9 issue of The Nation, a weekly journal of opinion on current affairs published at 333 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10014. It is by Martin Garbus, a New York trial lawyer.)

Alexander Haig, Fred Buzhardt, Richard Kleindienst, Richard Nixon and our military commanders approved, in violation of the law, the use of military equipment to quell a "civilian disorder" at Wounded Knee. Evidence offered at the Wounded Knee trials showed that these men, aware that they were breaking the law, disguised the men and equipment so that no one could know that the military was being used to quell a civilian disturbance, and, again in defiance of the law, poured an enormous amount of bullets and tear gas on the defenseless Indians. Alexander Haig ordered General Warner, Colonel Potter, and twenty other Army men to Wounded Knee to take charge of the onslaught, and directed that these men wear civilian clothes. . . The question is: what do we do now?

Congress has authoritatively declared that no part of the Army or the Air Force shall be used to execute the laws except as expressly authorized by Congress or by the President, after the issuance of a proclamation.

The government at the Nebraska and Minnesota trials denied that any military equipment or personnel was involved. Dozens of witnesses stated that no military uniforms were to be seen at Wounded Knee. After the Army records were subpoenaed, over the government's objections, General Warner, Chief of Staff of the 82nd Airborne (then a Colonel, but promoted because of his success at Wounded Knee), and Colonel Potter, a commander of the Sixth Army, were called to the stand in both the St. Paul and Lincoln cases. On cross-examination, after being confronted with the Army records, they admitted that military equipment was dropped off at various points miles away from Wounded Knee, taken out of marked military vehicles, transferred to civilian vehicles, and then driven to the scene of battle by military men wearing civilian clothes. Warner and Potter admitted that they were in Wounded Knee for 65 of the 71 days in civilian clothes (they each admitted that never before in their years of service had they not worn uniforms during "work") because they were ordered by Alexander Haig and Gen. Creighton Abrams to wear mufti.

Judges Urbom and Nichol found that the Army furnished sixteen armored personnel carriers (they were described by one of the witnesses as being like a medium-sized tank), 400,000 rounds of ammunition, 100 protective vests, a Phantom Jet, three helicopters, 120 sniper rifles, twenty grenade launchers, and a host of other equipment. The 200 occupants of Wounded Knee had fewer than fifty rifles – the bullets from these guns (half of which could not be fired) could not reach the Army bunkers that surrounded Wounded Knee. Roger Iron Cloud, a Vietnam veteran who was at Wounded Knee throughout the occupation, said, "We took more bullets in seventy-one days than I took in two years in Vietnam."

General Warner and Colonel Potter, charged with having run the entire Wounded Knee operation, denied that they were there for any purpose other than to observe. Both Judge Nichol and Judge Urbom found that the Army officers lied. General Warner finally admitted having put 200 men of the 82nd Airborne on 24-hour alert; he admitted ordering in chermical warfare officers to teach civil law-enforcement officers how to use military grenade launchers; he admitted that the gas grenades were military equipment.

General Warner admitted the use of the "Rules of Engagement" which are part of the military contingency plan for civil disorders, and he admitted that he compelled the FBI and the marshals to follow those rules.

. . . The Ford Administration is not going to follow the law and seek indictments against those in government who violated the law at Wounded Knee [for wilfully using any part of the Army against civilians]. The issues transcend the issue of Indian rights – General Haig's involvement and his previous confusion about the role of the military in civilian matters renders him unfit for his new position as head of NATO.

. . . The military men who were involved in Wounded Knee are still in a position to call out troops against the next rebellious group – be they Democrats, Christians, blacks, Baptists or students. Even though General Haig's nomination is not subject to a confirmation hearing, Congress should immediately explore the role of the military in Wounded Knee to make sure that tomorrow the military is not called out to put down other groups.

A LETTER TO ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM SAXBE

(Kenneth Tilsen, a defense lawyer in the Banks/Means trials in St. Paul, wrote a letter to William Saxbe, U.S. Attorney General, after watching him on "Meet the Press" on NBC November 17. Tilsen noted that his remarks were contrary to his behavior, particularly his refusal to see the former jurors and community leaders about the continuing Wounded Knee trials. These are excerpts from his letter to Saxbe.)

There is no question that Department of Justice behavior vis a vis Wounded Knee implicates the most serious questions of the impropriety of prosecutorial, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and United States marshals conduct, and also involves directly your alleged answers about the use of the military in domestic affairs.

. . . The circumstances and charges in these trials should concern you for they represent the most outrageously oppressive prosecutions ever undertaken in America.

Have you been advised that your special prosecutor in Lincoln, Nebraska, wore a gun to court in violation of court orders? Are you familiar with the efforts of that same prosecutor to undermine the integrity and public confidence in the courts by public statements alleging that the court is fostering anarchy?

Do you know that the prosecutor has opposed further trials in Minnesota on the grounds that the atmosphere in Minnesota is so prejudiced against the United States Government that the United States Government cannot obtain a fair trial in Minnesota?

. . . A public examination by you or a special independent commission to review not only the recent trial of Russell Means and Dennis Banks in St. Paul, Minnesota, but the decisions of the Justice Department relative to the other Wounded Knee cases might reveal exactly why it is true that the American public has no faith or confidence in the integrity of the Justice Department.

You give lip service to the American tradition of non-involvement of the military in domestic affairs (which tradition is incorporated in the United States Constitution and a number of Acts of Congress) yet your Department is at this moment attempting to justify the documented, massive, illegal secret military involvement at Wounded Knee.

If you do not have the obligation to review the decision-making in these cases, who does? These cases are all controlled directly out of your office – you can't pass the buck to a local prosecutor.

Perhaps the machine runs itself, untouched by human or humane hands. If this be true, the lack of confidence of the American people in our system of justice is our only salvation. It reflects their true experiences.

VICTORIES COULD SPAWN DEFEAT

(Mark Lane, a defense attorney in the Banks/Means trial in St. Paul, wrote about the trial in University Review, published at 857 Broadway, New York City 10003. These are excerpts from that article which appeared in November.)

. . . Juries have become much too sophisticated to accept the mere rhetoric of law and order that [prosecutor R.D. Hurd] offered. The mounties-always-get-their-man approach has somehow lost its folk-culture appeal, and the Government, because of its present state of chaos and the nature of the people it now attracts to it, has been left without an ideology to present to any jury. Instead, the pennant of the struggle to achieve concrete human goals is now firmly in the hands of the political defendant, and this has apparently become socially acceptable to the larger population.

. . . After the dismissal of the Banks/Means prosecution, the Attorney General announced that he had instituted a study to determine why the Department of Justice was losing all of its celebrated conspiracy trials. The only self-serving conclusion left to the Government, even it it remains implied rather than stated, would be that the jury system, as it presently exists, must be radically altered – either through the careful indoctrination or intimidation of prospective jurors, or the abolition of the institution itself.

On our part, this threat to one of the last checks on governmental excesses still in the hands of the people must be taken extremely seriously, and we must be prepared to fight to retain the right of a criminal defendant to a twelve-person unanimous jury. Otherwise, the victories exemplified by Wounded Knee may, paradoxically, spawn the greater defeat.

SOUTH DAKOTA

INDIAN WARS GET SERIOUS AS COLONIAL RACISM CONTINUES

"Our South Dakota Indian war is serious," insisted one of the hundreds of letters sent by white residents of the Plains to Judge Nichol protesting his dismissal of charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks.

A top aide to South Dakota's governor warns of the "explosive situation between Indian militants and white militants" and reported that Indians were terrorizing white ranchers and businessmen.

Indians interviewed by reporters say they are tired of being pushed around by whites, and some whites tell journalists that they will not be pushed further by Indians.

Many whites living in or around the Sioux reservations believe that the U.S. Government has abandoned them, that they no longer have the police and courts to protect them, and that they must rely on their own weapons to defend themselves. Native people too are worried, and many are arming themselves.

"We don't think we even need a spark any longer," said a top state law enforcement official who insisted upon remaining anonymous. "We think the fuse was lit when the dismissal of the charges against Russell Means came up in St. Paul. . . The attitude here in South Dakota became so tense that we were terrified that Means was going to show up somewhere in the state I was continually getting calls that he would never live through another confrontation."

Over the last year, the State of South Dakota has formed a 70-man "tactical team" composed of volunteer lawmen to assist in "riot situations" – meaning volunteers eager to see duty against Indians. The FBI now has 20 agents in South Dakota, more than double the usual number.

At least four South Dakota counties, Custer, Fall River, and Todd/Tripp have formed sheriff's "reserves", groups of armed volunteers trained to assist regular deputies when the Indians come to town.

Lawmen believe they are much better equipped to handle potentially violent demonstrations than they were last year.

"It was frightening. We weren't prepared," Jim Moye, Custer County sheriff's dispatcher said, speaking of the presence of American Indian Movement members and Oglalas last February. "But they better not come now," Moye says. "We're cocked and primed now. Everybody's got a rifle, a pistol, and a pistol permit. We've got the [sheriff's] reserve, and they're ready to go."

"A lot of people didn't have guns around here before, except for a .22 to 'ping' with, or a .410 shotgun," said Jim Dishong, a city councilman and gun dealer in Gordon, Nebraska, the first Plains community to have a major AIM demonstration. "Now, people, Indians and whites, are coming in here every day asking for AR-15 semiautomatic rifles and .45-caliber automatic pistols," Dishong says. "A lot of them lay it right on the line – this is for protection."

He said many whites were wary about driving the highway through the Pine Ridge Reservation, a road they used freely before.

The main tension points in South Dakota are in and around the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in the southwestern part of the state, and around the Sisseton-Wahpeton reservation in the northeast, where Dakotas have forcefully challenged the right of whites to hunt and fish.

Ramon Roubideaux, a Lakota who was chief trial lawyer for the AIM trials before he returned to private practice, feels that Wounded Knee was just the beginning. "It'll get much more serious, much more violent," he says. "Indians are so poor – they have nothing to lose."

Roubideaux says he believes whites have "an almost psychotic" fear of Indians: "Foremost in their subconscious thinking is that the Government must keep the Indians down, keep the Indians from hurting them. It's just like the frontier."

South Dakota has one of the highest percentages of Indian population (about 5%) of any state, and has a much greater portion of its total land area in reservations than most other Western states. Historically, relations with whites have always ended up with native disadvantage. Most native families have annual incomes of less than $1900. Many feel strongly about their land, including their sacred Black Hills, which the U.S. not only took, but in which citizens had the audacity to name a town after the archvillain, George Armstrong Custer.

Whites have been able to lease or even purchase much of the land originally committed to the Lakota reservations. White ranchers live scattered throughout reservation land. Many businesses on the reservation are white-owned and operated.

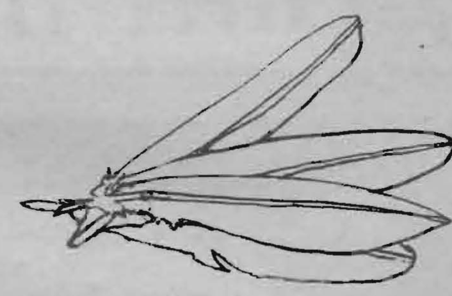
Helping to sour racial relationships, in addition to the militancy on both sides, is the question of jurisdiction. Judge Nichol explains that a recent U.S. 8th Court of Appeals decision has held that native peoples retain jurisdiction to land owned by whites in the "open portions" of the reservation. Previously, white political authority and law enforcement had been prevalent in such areas.

The jurisdictional question for the whites is who is going to protect them in the maintenance of their vested interests. "I can protect the Indian from the white, but not the white from the Indian," complains George Bennett, head of South Dakota's public safety department. "The rancher on the reservation thinks that nobody will protect him now. Some are deciding that they're going to take the law into their own hands. I don't know how we can get Washington to pay attention to this problem. I don't know how the Federal Government can let a cyst like this develop."

Judge Nichol says that the ranchers can call the tribal policemen for protection. But increasingly, the administration of the BIA police – essentially agents of the white federal government – is influenced politically by the tribal councils.

Nichol says that most of the mail he received from South Dakota and other northern Plains states about his decision to dismiss charges against Means and Banks was hostile – one letter called him "an outcast throwback from Hell". But, he says, most of the mail from other states was favorable.

Mrs. W.J. Magowan, a white woman who lives a few miles from the Pine Ridge reservation, gives reporters a typically Plains-white appraisal of Indians. "Back East, I know they think Indians can do no wrong, but we know what they're like here. We live with them. We used to be friends, the Indians and us; but not any more. No one trusts anyone any more. Not one person here was surprised by that Means decision. The Indians steal our cars all the time and take them over to the reservation and the Federal Government doesn't do anything. It really makes you sick to your stomach, but what can you do?"



BIA Superintendent Al Trimble says that most remarks about the situation are "ill conceived and inflammatory." He was responding to the latest outburst from a non-Indian rancher on a KOTA television program from Rapid City in which a "civil war" between Indians and whites was predicted.

Trimble said that some non-Indians "are really deploring the disappearance of a sheltered colonialism." He said that "special treatment of non-Indians has fallen in the face of demands on the part of South Dakota Indians for equal rights and privileges both on and off the reservation." He said that the BIA police were doing an adequate job of protecting the rights of everyone on the reservation, Indians and whites alike.

PINE RIDGE TENSIONS GROW AS ATTACKS ON AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT MEMBERS CONTINUES

Some politicians running for office this November used the Indian-white issue to win votes. Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate Leo K. Thorsness urged that the American Indian Movement be banned from South Dakota. Senator George McGovern said he wouldn't go that far, but that he deplored the AIM violence.

Another objection was voiced by the state's tourist bureau after Means appeared on NBC's "Tomorrow" show speaking of "genocide" and calling South Dakota "the Mississippi of the North for Indians." "We're trying to create tourism in South Dakota, and you make the state sound like an armed camp," Pam Burke, associate producer of the show, said she was told by state officials. William Janklow, then a Republican candidate for attorney-general of the state, said he had been cast in a bad light and requested equal time to tell America "the truth about AIM and its misleaders". Governor Richard Kneip requested an audio tape of the program for review.

Janklow was successful in his election bid, campaigning largely on the issue of "AIM lawlessness." AIM leader Dennis Banks says that with Janklow in office, there will be an increase in tensions, and that AIM will intensify its efforts in South Dakota. Banks called the election "an outrage."

"When Bill Janklow can run on a racist campaign and be elected by a two-to-one margin, it seems to me that 65 to 70 percent of the state is racist," Russell Means told a news conference in Sioux Falls. "Reconciliation is the only hope for peace between the Indians and the white people in South Dakota."

Watergate a la South Dakota?

When the Custer trials first got underway, there had been a motion filed in U.S. District Court asking that federal courts take jurisdiction. That motion said that it would be impossible for the defendants to get a fair trial in a state court, and cited the hiring by the state's attorney general, Kermit Sande, of two men, Bill Mathison and John Fitzgerald, who had been active in the defense office. That motion was denied by Judge Andrew Bogue, who returned the case to state judge Joseph Bottum.

Now a former member of the South Dakota attorney general's office has filed a perjury complaint against his former boss. Neal Karsrud says his complaint is under investigation by the U.S. Attorney's office in Sioux Falls – the same prosecution that went after Russell Means and Dennis Banks – and that if probable grounds are established, the evidence will be turned over to a federal grand jury to decide if a trial is warranted.

Karsrud said that Sande, who was defeated by a dedicated AIM enemy, William Janklow, in November elections, testified falsely before Judge Bogue in Rapid City. Karsrud said there were discrepencies in what Sande told the court about the hiring of the two men, and what actually occurred at that meeting. Karsrud said that Sande hired the two men, and then was persuaded to cancel the agreement because the hiring could create a conflict of interest. The defense had alleged that the state was prosecuting in bad faith.

Asked why he had waited so long to file the complaint, Karsrud said: "I had made the matter known to Judge Bogue's law clerk and to an assistant U.S. Attorney, and I assumed something was being done about it." Karsrud is now working at the Fort Berthold Reservation as a legal aide.

The campaign between Sande and Janklow was bitter and nasty. Sande alleged that Janklow had a criminal record. Janklow countered by saying that his only record was as a juvenile, and that Sande had illegally revealed a juvenile confidential record. Janklow admitted that in 1955, at age 16, he was involved in an assault on a 17-year-old girl in Moody County. Asked if the charge was rape, he said no – "it didn't go that far, but it was preliminary to that type of thing."

Witnesses Allege Janklow Raped Babysitter

On October 16, Dennis Banks, who is admitted to practice law as an attorney before the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Court, filed a petition for the disbarment of Janklow from that court. Chief Tribal Judge Mario Gonzalez issued a notice of hearing for Janklow to show cause why such an order should not be granted, but Janklow didn't show up.

Janklow was head of the legal services agency at Rosebud a few years back. Judge Gonzalez noted that while Janklow had been inactive since he had left the reservation, he had not resigned.

"The Court is shocked and dismayed at the arrogance of certain BIA officials and their purposeful attempt to sabotage the inquiry of the Court in this matter," Gonzalez wrote in his findings. "The Agency Special Officer has in his files a report on [allegations of rape of a 15-year-old girl by Janklow, identified by one witness as file number 66. A former BIA employee testified that she had typed most of the file contents." The witness also identified a photograph of the rape victim, showing marks on her breasts and stomach. "This file was subpeonaed and acting Agency Special Officer Norman Beare testified that he located the file and had it in his possession, but was ordered by BIA acting area director Harley D. Zephier not to deliver the same," Gonzalez wrote, calling the letter "outrageously arrogant and contemptous."

Gonzalez ordered Beare committed to jail for contempt for his refusal to produce the file. He also found in contempt two BIA police officers on the Crow Creek Reservation who were subpeonaed and ordered to bring files dealing with alleged moral misbehavior by Janklow. "They were instructed by their superiors not to obey the subpeonas," Judge Gonzalez noted.

In addition to disbarring Janklow, the court found there was sufficient probable cause established to warrant a trial on rape and morals charges, and an order was issued for Janklow's arrest anytime he might be found on the Rosebud Reservation.

Judge Gonzalez heard a number of witnesses before issuing the order: the young girl who said she had been raped, her foster parents, a guidance counselor, the tribal prosecutor, hospital records. The court said "the evidence indicates that an obstruction of justice followed the rape. When a complaint was being made to the BIA special officer, Janklow was there." He was not prosecuted at the time. The girl has agreed to submit to a lie detector test.

When informed of the results of the hearing, the new state attorney general said he would not be intimidated by Banks or Judge Gonzalez and that he would go anywhere in the state that he pleased.

Of course, he knows that the Rosebud Reservation isn't exactly "in" the state of South Dakota.

"The American Indian Movement, Dennis Banks, and their tribal judge Mario Gonzalez think they can deter me from doing what people of this state elected me to do by continuing their pre-election slander and gutter attacks," Janklow said. He charged that they knew they were outside Janklow's state jurisdiction to serve libel complaints on them.

Janklow said AIM had better be on its guard. "When AIM goes somewhere in the state, I will be there with adequate law enforcement personnel to handle any possible trouble. We won't wait until a mess has been created and has to be cleaned up." Janklow said "the safety of the people and their property willbe my number one concern as attorney general."

Land Use Problems Confirmed

A report on land use and purchase patterns on the Pine Ridge Reservation confirms the contention made during the height of the Wounded Knee occupation that traditional landowners are being exploited both by white and part-Indian land users.

The report, endorsed by BIA superintendent Albert Trimble, was compiled from BIA records, tribal records, and interviews by Judi Cornelius, former editor of *The Oglala Nation News.*

The report says the problems stem from present BIA and tribal policies. Many people of half or more Indian blood are being forced to sell their land because they are not receiving enough money in rental fees to make it profitable to keep it.

In addition to exploitation by white ranchers, there is also exploitation from person of less than half Indian blood, or those employed either by the BIA or the tribal council whose incomes make it possible for them to buy land.

Often land is packaged into "range units" – the lessee pays his fee to the BIA which then distributes the money to individual landowners. The practice, landowners complain, takes away control of their land.

Other complaints include overgrazing, insufficient rental fees, and inability of the landowner to negotiate for loans.

While figures show 68% of the reservation land is still owned or used by Indians, those who are 3/4 or fullblood control only 2.7% of the land. Apparently the more white grandparents a person has, the more land he or she will own: Oglalas with half to 3/4 native blood own 5.7% of the land, while those with 1/4 or half native blood own 21.6%. People with less than one-fourth native blood control 39.9% while no-bloods control 30%.

Thanks to Bryce Nelson of the Los Angeles Times, Liberation News Service, United Press International, John Carman of the Minneapolis Star, Associated Press, Ron Kroese and the Rapid City Journal, and Jeff Roy of the Militant for information used here.)

TENSIONS CONTINUE AT PINE RIDGE: BIA POLICEMAN ATTACKS HOME, GOONS SHOOT UP TRAILER

Tense relations between the Wilson regime and American Indian Movement supporters, and between factions of the Wilson group and the Bureau of Indian Affairs continued to bring death and violence to Pine Ridge.

Recently, a veteran BIA policeman, Jess Trueblood, burst into a home in Pine Ridge village, and blasted away at five persons before he was shot to death. He staggered from the home for a half mile or so where he was found. He died from a wound in the back of his head while being transferred to a Rapid City hospital.

Witnesses said Trueblood had entered the home of Chester (Dutch) Stone wounding Stone, Stone's wife, Bernice; their step-daughter, Debbie Richards Mousseau; Mrs.ousseau's 3-year-old son, John Joseph, and a house guest, Louis Tyon.

Mrs. Stone was treated at the PHS hospital in Pine Ridge and released. The others were flown to Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Denver where they were listed as being in good condition.

Mrs. Stone told authorities she was setting the dinner table when Trueblood "walked into the house and started firing a shotgun." Albert Trimble, BIA superintendent at Pine Ridge, said that Stone had complained two days earlier that "the Wilsons are after me," referring to the current tribal chairman, Richard Wilson.

There were two different accounts told of the shooting reported in the press. Mrs. Stone told authorities she was setting the dinner table when Trueblood "walked into the house and started firing a shotgun." Another account came from Joe Richards, a son of Mrs. Stone by a previous marriage, who said that when Trueblood drove to within about 30 yards of the house, he opened fire with a high-powered rifle. Richards said that he ran to the house, got a pistol, and fired at Trueblood, who then wheeled away.

Del Eastman, officer in charge of the BIA police, said Trueblood, 25, was found with a bullet hole in the back of his head. "Doctors say Trueblood would have been unconscious from the bullet as soon as it hit his head – so we're assuming he was shot later," Eastman said.

"We've got two separate cases here," Eastman says. "In the first, Trueblood is the subject in an assault case. In the second, Trueblood is the victim of a murder."

The Stone family are known publicly as supporters of the American Indian Movement.

Richards said he thinks Trueblood fired at the Stone house because Stone, a paint contractor, had hired an AIM member, Poker Joe Merrival, to work for him.

Eastman also said he was told that Trueblood had argued earlier in the day with Tyon, 29.

Edgar Bear Runner, an AIM spokesman, said that a group of goons, which included one BIA policeman, had told Tyon to leave town the day before "as part of their plan to rid the town of Pine Ridge of all AIM members."

Bear Runner said that a few days before the Trueblood shooting, Poker Joe's trailer house was riddled by bullets. None of the shots hit the sleeping Merrival, although one of the slugs struck the mattress on which he was lying.

Richards charged that after Trueblood shot into the house, the BIA police tried to prevent them from telephoning the FBI. Richards said the FBI should investigate so that the incident would not be covered up.

Michelle Richards Camp, a sister to Richards, said that while she was at the hospital with some of the people who were shot, a BIA policeman said to her, "That's what you ---- in AIM get."

Joseph Trimbach, area director of the FBI who had been strongly chastized by Judge Nichol during the Banks/Means trial, says that the FBI is not selective in its investigations of crime. Most of the court cases are against AIM members, and allegations of crimes against AIM members go on without charges being laid, AIM leaders state with impressive statistics to back their accusation.

AIM members have complained that they have no protection except from each other – the BIA and the FBI do not seem to be interested in their complaints.

Trimbach says the FBI is not charged with maintenance of law and order on the reservations, but comes in to investigate after a felony has been committed. "It matters not to us what group or organization a person is involved with," Trimbach said. "We ascertain the facts, and furnish the results of our investigation to the U.S. Attorney, who handles the prosecution."

Also this autumn, the home of AIM member Dick Marshall was attacked for the fourth time, resulting in the shooting of an alleged member of the "goon squad", Moss Bettleyoun. On October 12, four men burst into Marshall's Pine Ridge home. Marshall is an officer of the Committee for Better Tribal Government, an outgrowth of the pre-Wounded Knee Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization. Bettleyoun was shot in the stomach as he rushed through the door to assault Marshall and David Clifford, also a resident of the house.

BIA police stood by, apparently preventing more of the goon squad from entering the fray, but giving no protection to the men, women, and children in the house. At best, they were only able to advise the occupants to leave before any more harm could be done. In fact, later that morning, two shot-gun rounds were fired into the side and back of the house.

Charges were filed – against David Clifford for assault with a dangerous weapon. The FBI did not interview any of the people inside the house. In a preliminary hearing, however, U.S. Magistrate James Wilson ordered the case turned over to the grand jury.

Clifford's cars at the back of the Marshall house have since been trashed and firebombed. The house shows scars of attempted arson. Both the Marshalls and the Cliffords say they were threatened at rifle-point by BIA policeman Tote Richards in Martin, South Dakota, off the reservation.

Tribal attorney Ethel Merrival, who has defended many AIM people, has had her home shot at. Some residents say the BIA police are all either goons themselves, or supporters of the goons, or afraid of the goons who were initially pressed into action by tribal chairman Dick Wilson, using U.S. funds to pay an hourly wage for goon-duty.

Most native people – even those who were not stalwart supporters of AIM – favored the outcome of the St. Paul trial. There are exceptions, however, such as Dick Wilson, Oglala Sioux tribal council president. "My reaction is they're giving them a license to do it again. It only encourages more of it."

Joe American Horse, tribal vice-president, says, "It seems like the courts are there to protect the criminals. The decision will encourage more people in this area to take up arms."

The tribal council might not approve completely of these sentiments. At least eight of the 20 council members are AIM supporters. Even Wilson thinks the council probably will approve letting Marlon Brando, Banks and Means make a movie about the Wounded Knee occupation on the reservation.

"Deep down, all Indians like AIM, whatever they say," one white South Dakota politician said. "They're proud of Means and Banks. Deep down, AIM has been good for the Indian. The Indian needs this boost to his dignity and self-esteem."

Severt Young Bear, who represents the Porcupine district on the tribal council, says, "Sure I belong to AIM. But I'm Oglala Sioux first. If I have to stand with AIM to get something done, I'll do it. People say that Dennis and Russell used the Oglala Sioux. What they don't understand is that the Oglala Sioux used Dennis and Russell. Wounded Knee focused attention on our treaty rights. I heard my grandfather and my father talking about treaty rights. Now I'm talking about them, and my son will be talking about them."

'THE MOST IMPORTANT INDIAN'

By VINE DELORIA JR.

Frank's Landing, Washington

When the media collides with a social movement, its chief contribution seems to be the simplification of issues and the creation of instant personalities. The complexity of conflicting ideologies which separates the respective minority groups from the rest of America is often overlooked in the rush to lionize the most-obvious heroes of the latest cause. As a result, accomplishments become fewer and fewer, and the public, satiated with its superficial understanding and oozing with sympathy, moves on to find another cause. The media-created personalities emerge a decade later in where-are-they-now articles and little is accomplished.

Now that Marlon Brando is filming the AIM version of Wounded Knee as a never-to-be-forgotten but hardly understood epic, future historians will be all the more puzzled when, [illegible] to distinguish fiction from fact concerning the activities of this generation of Indians. It is [illegible], perhaps, to attempt to sketch out for the record some of the important persons of the recent Indian movement who have rarely achieved wide public recognition but, who have contributed and influenced events far in excess of what one would expect from a virtually anonymous individual.

Future historians – indeed, present historians – when looking for the most important Indian of the post-war years, will be missing a bet if they fail to choose Hank Adams, a slight, shy, and somewhat mysterious Assiniboine-Sioux from Fort Peck, Montana.

Like Bob Moses, the enigmatic and shadowy black organizer from the early movement in Mississippi, Adams has remained a mysterious character who has shunned the spotlight, avoided the college lecture circuit, and escaped the evening talk shows. But Adams has been the key man behind the scenes, the crucial individual who held the line through knowledge, perserverance, and hard work during those times when others shirked the dirty work or failed to see in the turn of events the crucial nature of the confrontation.

Adams is best known for his work in the fishing rights struggle in the Pacific Northwest. He is mentioned briefly in *The New Indians,* [by Stan Steiner] the early handbook of the Indian movement, as being present at the 1964 "Fish-ins" held by the National Indian Youth Council in Washington State, but for the record, he was not only present, but handled most of the planning and press releases. If there was a clear message coming from the early fish-ins, it was because Adams was able to gather sufficient resources together to get protests underway, and the relatively sparse information on his presence there testifies to his commitment to getting the job done rather than gathering the headlines.

Adams was originally from the Fort Peck Reservation in northeastern Montana, but his mother married a Quinault man when Hank was still quite young, and he lived at Taholah, the chief village on the Quinault Reservation as a teenager. He was thus familiar with the fishing cultures of the Pacific Northwest from early experiences and knew the intricacies of the fishing rights controversy better than the multitude of lawyers and bureaucrats who had traditionally argued abstractions with each other about the nature of the treaty rights which secured to Indians the right to fish their traditional grounds and stations. Over the past decade, Adams has become the leading theoretician on the Indian side of the question, and has never abandoned his original contentions about the scope of the Indian fishing right.

This attitude, of course, has proven disconcerting to the State Fish and Game Department, and to the Department of the Interior (which is theoretically the Indians' trustee regarding the exercise of this right.) Perhaps what has been so disconcerting to both sides is that Hank has usually researched the question to a much greater extent than either the Federal or State governments, and in doing so, has been able to show quite eloquently the failures on the part of the Federal Government to protect Indians and the breaches of faith on the part of the State of Washington. The rhetoric of change which has marked the attitudes of both state and federal officials has often been the victim of Adams' piercing analyses of the question, and the resulting embarrassment when the lack of faith has been demonstrated has caused many officials to skirt any contact with Hank on these questions.

The original position of the Federal Government and the private attorneys handling the Indian side of the recent *U.S. v. Washington* was hardly what one would call aggressive and seemed to beg the question of fishing rights rather than to assert the right. Adams threatened intervention and his patient negotiations back and forth with a variety of legal minds resulted in the creation of a much more rigorous case, one which articulated rather definitely the right of Indians in the Pacific Northwest to fish.

I can remember several times being called on the carpet for Hank's aggressiveness in arguing the fine points with the self-proclaimed Indian law experts who were hoping that I would intervene with Hank and get him to soften his stance toward the theoretical aspects of presenting the case. But having worked with Hank on a variety of problems over the years, the best I could promise was to ask Hank to explain the finer points to the experts one more time. Eventually, Hank won his points, at least with the experts on the Indian side, and while many of the people hated to admit it, they had to conclude that Hank, a layman with no legal training, knew more about Indian treaty law than almost any of the lawyers working in the field.

– AIPA photo

Hank Adams . . . leading theoretician, hard worker

During the past decade, Hank has spent many a night in the county jail on trumped-up charges revolving about the fishing rights question. In January, 1971, two white vigilantes tried to assassinate him while he and another Indian were checking their nets along the Nisqually River. Fortunately, he was just rising from a crouching position in the seat of a car when they fired at him and the bullet missed his vital organs when it ground its way through his mid-section. Hank was rushed to a hospital and survived only to find that the local police wanted him to take a lie-detector test to prove that he had not shot himself. His assailants are still at large.

Adams' work on fishing rights has received some local publicity because of his constant appearances as a defendant in state courts on fishing violations charges. He has usually represented himself on a *pro se* basis, and one federal judge in Oregon allowed him to handle his own case on a complicated issue of treaty interpretation and later complimented him on the brilliant performance which he declared few experienced lawyers could have duplicated. Perhaps Hank's only embarrassment with respect to fishing rights was during the Poor People's Campaign when he was leading a rally at the Supreme Court. Some fringe followers broke several windows in the building and the crowd was dispersed while Hank was trying to calm them. (Some Indians thought the incident was bad for the movement, but with the recent revelations of the Plumber's Squad, a few now wonder if the disturbance was not a federal effort to discredit the rally.)

When Hank came into the fishing rights struggle, the Indians were disheartened, disorganized, and certainly demoralized. In the decade in which he has been active, the situation has completely reversed. The right to fish guaranteed in the 1854-1855 treaties has been upheld in the Supreme Court and lesser federal courts, and the tribes now have a fishing commission, with Hank as their new fish commissioner, to supervise their recently re-affirmed right to fish. If one were to survey all the subject fields of Indian law in the past decade and evaluate the topic that has been most favorably developed for Indians, it would have to be fishing rights, and for this work alone, Adams should be ranked as a leading contemporary Indian leader. But fishing is merely one of his calmer activities.

In 1972, during election week, the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan arrived in the U.S. capital to protest conditions of Indians. Hank had attended the workshops held in St. Paul as part of the caravan activities and had been primarily responsible for drawing up the famous Twenty Points which the caravan was intent upon presenting to the President of the U.S. During the week-long occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters, Hank was drafted to be the leading negotiator for the occupants of the building. He worked out several compromise settlements, but hot tempers and a fear of violence undid his work each time he had gotten the Government and the protestors to agree on terms of disengagement. Finally, the siege was broken, the activists were given funds to return home, and Adams decided to settle in Washington, D.C., for a while.

When he discovered that the departing caravan had taken a massive amount of Bureau of Indian Affairs records, Hank volunteered to try and get the papers back. Fortunately, he had enough experience in dealing with the Federal Government not to place his trust solely in the Administration. He early made contact with a House of Representatives subcommittee which was investigating the occupation and he made arrangements to have their officials present whenever he was ready to deliver the papers. As word went out through Indian Country that Hank would guarantee a safe return of the papers, cartons began to arrive in the Washington, D.C., bus station filled with the stolen papers.

The Government, however, promptly assigned an undercover agent to Adams to try to trap him with the papers. And when it seemed as if the FBI could bring columnist Jack Anderson into the snare, the trap was sprung catching Hank and Les Whitten, Anderson's assistant, loading papers in Whitten's car preparing to take them to the Bureau of Indian Affairs where members of the House subcommittee were waiting to observe their return. Adams and Whitten were held for several hours in the jail while the Government tried to figure out what it had done. Rumor had it that the FBI had already sworn affidavits that Jack Anderson was using the papers, and that the warrants had to be retyped alleging that the Government knew that Les Whitten was using them.

Federal officials took the case to the Grand Jury, which hardly hesitated at all in returning no indictments against Adams and Whitten. The Government had tried, in effect, to convict the only Indian in the country who had sought to get the government records back.

Following the occupation of the BIA, Adams was warned that bad blood was stirring on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation because the BIA had allowed Richard Wilson, chairman of the Oglala Sioux, to build up his own personal police force which he was using to intimidate supporters of the American Indian Movement and his political opponents. Hank wrote many letters to different people in Congress and the Administration, warning them of an impending blow-up in South Dakota if this practice was not discontinued. His complaints were dismissed almost as if the Sioux Government wanted a confrontation, and finally the Sioux at Pine Ridge revolted and occupied Wounded Knee.

As that occupation flared and developed into a stalemate, Hank again volunteered to serve as a go-between and was instrumental in getting the two sides to finally agree on a settlement. He was thrown off the reservation several times as he was trying to get the Government to agree to terms, and shunted aside after the final settlement as both sides claimed credit for it. Yet without his constant and quiet work behind the scenes, Wounded Knee might well have been a repeat of the earlier massacre.

In less than a year, then, Hank Adams had been highly instrumental in resolving two major and bitter confrontations between Indians and the Federal Government. His reward from the Government was an attempted frame-up on a spurious charge, and his reward from the [some] Indians was jealousy and hostility for his work in attempting to get peaceful settlements to the disputes. He remained to the general public simply an anonymous Indian who was sometimes mentioned in peripheral stories about both confrontations.

The ironic aspect of Hank's career is that he has shunned the spectacular dress and rhetoric of the militant who is familiar to the general public and thus has been consistently overlooked in the rush to identify important Indian figures. Several years ago I recommended him for a committee assignment with the Episcopal church, but when he arrived wearing a sweater, slacks and raincoat, he was derided as not being an activist and the whites on the committee said I was trying to pawn off a phony on them. With his aversion for publicity, his casual and ordinary dress, and his soft voice and calm, reasonable approach, Adams appears like an observer of the scene rather than a prime mover within it.

Adams has lived at poverty levels during the past decade, serving as director of the small Survival of American Indians organization which has a tiny budget that allows funds for bail and court appearances and little else. Hank has been consistently refused financial support by the churches and civil rights groups who have been looking for a charismatic Indian and while thousands of dollars have gone to waste in grants to the buckskin-and-rhetoric Indians, Adams has taken a shoestring and changed many features of the present Indian world. Marlon Brando even called him the closest thing Indians have to a saint. Perhaps the only churchman who has consistently supported Adams and understood him has been Bishop Ivol Curtis of Washington, but even the good bishop has been unable to bring a sense of priorities to the national church funding agencies.

And thus it goes. Adams is currently working on several books which outline the recent Indian scene as he has known it, and few people have known it more intimately. He has, in fact, been working on one book since 1969, but his keen sense of historical perspective has prevented him from publishing it because of his constant concern that he understand all of the nuances of the present movement before he releases the manuscript. If and when he finally finishes his book, it will probably be the most honest manuscript dealing with Indians ever put together.

No one can adequately evaluate Hank's position in the Indian community today, or what future historians will really understand as his role in the revival of Indian societies. He is already an accomplished writer, but cares so little for publicity he often signs fictitious names to his articles. Since he is less than systematic in keeping track of his writings, no one, including Adams, knows what he has really written, and Princeton University Library, which has some of his writings, remains baffled in trying to record the most elusive if not the most important of today's Indians. It is probably just as well. Legends seem to come and go, and the best documented legends often turn out to be less than real. It is better that Adams remain elusive according to his preference than to be reduced inadequately to the historical record where his soft-spoken brilliance would not be appreciated.

[This biographical essay is by Vine Deloria, Jr., author of Custer Died for Your Sins, We Talk, You Listen, and God is Red. Deloria is a contributing editor to Race Relations Reporter, *published by the Race Relations Information Center of Nashville, Tennessee. The Center has recently had to announce its closing because a major source of grants withdrew support — we are saddened to see this valuable resource die away, and we express our best wishes to its dedicated staff. Hank Adams can be reached through the Survival of the American Indian Association, Box 719, Tacoma, Washington 98401. To him, also, we send our greetings and wishes for his good health and peace of mind.]*

F.B.I. AND INDIANS

Washington, D.C. — Are segments of the American Indian population presently subject to "racial intelligence gathering" by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other federal agencies, as was the black nationalist movement in the 1960s?

The evidence points to one compelling answer: yes. In 1974 alone, historians are studying the "new nationalism" of native people, linguists are charting thought patterns of "symbolic confrontational rhetoric", Indians are going to prison — and the FBI, in concert with the recently-created mechanisms in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has found a new arena for "racial intelligence."

This past March 4, U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe released several documents containing new revelations of FBI tactics used in the 1960s and 1970s against the various black nationalist groups, as well as the Socialist Workers Part and the Ku Klux Klan. Saxbe was forced to release the papers following the filing of suits by NBC correspondent Carl Stern under the Freedom of Information Act.

The FBI documents themselves, compressed into a single paragraph, contain a distillation of the meaning of racial intelligence gathering:

> *— expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the groups, activities, and individual names of nationalist "hate-type" organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters.*
>
> *—prevent the rise of a "messiah" who can unify and electrify the nationalist movement.*
>
> *— interfere with organizational efforts and capitalize upon existing conflicts between individuals within an organization and between competing organizations.*
>
> *— have local police put leaders under close scrutiny and arrest leaders on every possible charge until they can no longer make bail.*
>
> *— prevent coalitions of nationalist groups.*
>
> *— prevent leaders from gaining respectability by discrediting them with segments of their own community.*
>
> *— indicate electronic surveillance where none exists. Outline fictitious plans for police raids or other counteractions.*
>
> *— reveal misuse or misappropriation of organizational funds.*

In March of 1973, Secretary of the Interior Rogers C.B. Morton, within whose department the BIA falls, issued a special report which spelled out clearly the Nixon Administration's views on Indian militants — a view which would play a key role in the authorization of surveillance. Morton said, ". . . There has grown up in the wake of the black movement in this country a revolutionary Indian element. Dramatic violence is their pattern. The occupation of Alcatraz, Nike sites, the federal office building in Washington, the village in Wounded Knee, and others all fall into it. Their effort is symbolic rather than substantive. They believe that the pursuit of their cause transcends their criminal methods. Their demands are vague and change from day to day. They do not represent a constituted group with whom the government can contract or serve.

"Some of their leaders are star-struck with self-righteousness, some are renegades, some are youthful adventurers, some have criminal records. They come forth with great gusto when there is hell to raise, otherwise, they are loosely organized, slipping from one expensive-to-the-taxpayers event to the next under a cloak of false idealism. The bloody past is the color of their banner, publicity is the course of their future. . . .These are criminal actions and should be dealt with accordingly."

At the time the Morton report was issued, the Interior Department, the Justice Department, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs were becoming inextriably wedded to the creation of new intelligence operations in the BIA, linking the BIA with the FBI on a regular basis, and employing the entire scope of domestic intelligence -gathering agencies in one swoop.

Last year, on June 25, John Dean III, in his cataclysmic testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities peering into the mushrooming Watergate scandal, directly linked the Nixon Administration jitters over fomenters of "domestic unrest" to the surveillance of Indians. Dean told the Ervin committee that the White House staff routed "regular intelligence reports" on "Indian uprisings" to President Nixon's top man in "minority affairs," Leonard Garment. Dean said that early in 1971, an Interagency Evaluation Committee (IEC) was established to handle all domestic information. Some of the IEC data was routed directly ot Garment, Dean testified. He said the White House "was continually seeking intelligence information about demonstration leaders and their supporters that would either discredit them personally or indicate that the demonstration was in fact sponsored by some foreign enemy."

During the very week Dean was telling his story to the Ervin committee and to the U.S., the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated a thorough routing system for FBI and other intelligence date, creating a new post of Coordinator for Special Operations Services (SOS) in the BIA Washington office, and designated the BIA Indian Police Training and Research Center in Brigham City, Utah, as a command center for operations related to Indian militants. It will utilize a new SOS strike-unit of Indian policemen specially trained for controlling reservation disturbances.

The head of the BIA's Law Enforcement Division is Eugene Suarez, who has held that job since 1970. James Cooper is coordinator for Special Operations Services (SOS) in Washington, and head of the Utah Indian police academy is William Walker.

Basic intelligence reports from the FBI, U.S. Marshals Service, Secret Service, local BIA police units and state law enforcement agencies are sorted out by the BIA's Office of Indian Services and sent to Cooper. Cooper in turn "appraises our people of the movements of people". saying that the intelligence reports "mostly concern Indian militant groups that may affect the tranquillity of the Indian reservations."

His information goes to eleven BIA Area Offices across the country, each having a Chief Law Enforcement Officer who maintains intelligence liaisons with local BIA agency and reservation officials on a two-way basis, providing and receiving information.

Then there is the SOS unit, consisting of Indian men specially trained in 1973 at Los Fresnos, Texas, [a school which the CIA also uses for training police officials from Latin American countries.] The unit was created in order to bring the BIA's "riot-readiness" up to par. The select unit, which includes perhaps a total of 50 policemen together with service and support staff, also received special training at the FBI National Academy at Quantico, Virginia.

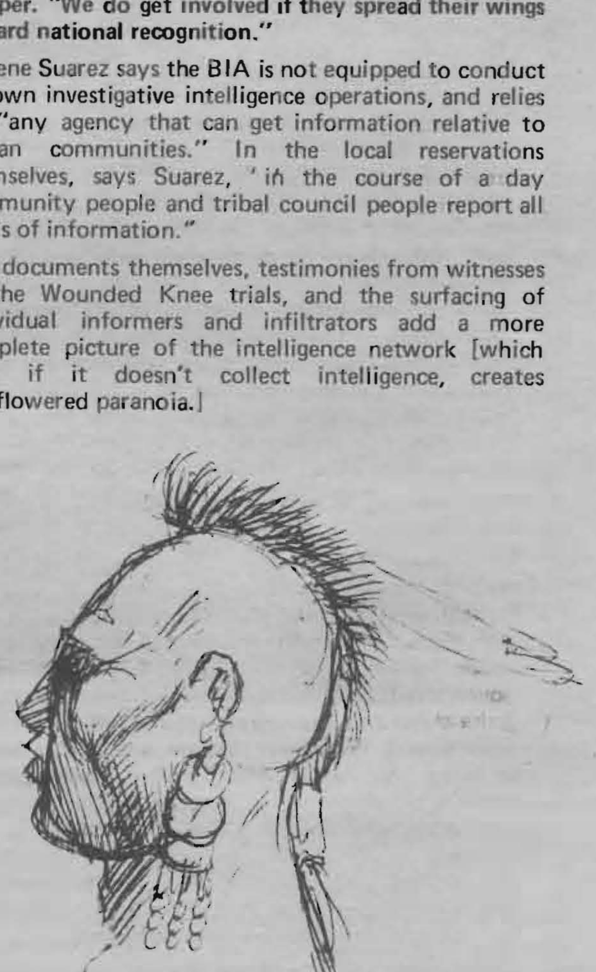
The special strike unit puts the BIA in the position of pitting Indian forces against Indian forces — resurrecting an old idea.

Thus, by mid-1974, the only agency within the U.S. Government in existence to deal with the affairs of a single American minority exclusively had erected a working two-way intelligence system to deal with that sector of the minority community which was more than a thorn in its side.

Cooper of SOS says that in addition to the American Indian Movement, many other" militant organizations" which aspire to national recognition also fall under scrutiny and surveillance of the FBI. Cooper says he has had "some things' concerning the National Indian Youth Council. "If it's strictly a tribal group and tribal issues, we wouldn't get too involved ourselves," says Cooper. "We do get involved if they spread their wings toward national recognition."

Eugene Suarez says the BIA is not equipped to conduct its own investigative intelligence operations, and relies on "any agency that can get information relative to Indian communities." In the local reservations themselves, says Suarez, 'in the course of a day community people and tribal council people report all kinds of information."

FBI documents themselves, testimonies from witnesses in the Wounded Knee trials, and the surfacing of individual informers and infiltrators add a more complete picture of the intelligence network [which even if it doesn't collect intelligence, creates full-flowered paranoia.]



The Game and Fisheries Department, [which has engaged in a decade or more of legal battles over fishing by the Nisqually and Puyallup people] collected such data as Social Security numbers, who received welfare, tables of ancestry, plus personal relationships, records of store purchases, conditions of their home, even what they kept in their cupboards.

(Thanks to Richard LaCourse, writing for Race Relations Reporter, for much of this article.)

THE RED AND THE BLACK

[Shortly after the Poor People's March on Washington in 1966, Vine Deloria, Jr., wrote in We Talk You Listen, *that it was difficult for him to relate to the Black Movement for civil rights at that time because it did not focus on a struggle for land and did not cultivate a sense of black people's own nationhood. Civil rights, in the United States sense of the words, was not a proper ground for a coming-together of oppressed peoples.*

[When Stokely Carmichael addressed an assembly organized by the St. Paul Chapter of the American Indian Movement on behalf of AIM leaders on trial in their city, the hall was filled with people of all races. Stokely talked. Peoples listened. He provided one of the clearest descriptions of the common ground on which black, red, and all oppressed peoples can stand.

[Stokely Carmichael is presently an organizer for the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party with headquarters in West Africa. Stokely came to America from Trinidad and thus was spared some part of the American Myth as a result. He first gained widespread international attention when he helped to organize – and later became chairman of – the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and helped to give leadership to the civil rights movement among black people in the southern U.S. in the early '60s. He was responsible for beginning the work of organizing the march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, which was interrupted – but not stopped – by an assault of white troopers resulting in the deaths of three black people.

Stokely Carmichael has supported the Indian movement in various ways on previous occasions. In 1972, during the occupation, he came to Washington to give encouragement and support for the newly-established Native American Embassy. During the siege at Wounded Knee, Stokely travelled there, again to give his support.

In his remarks here, Stokely succeeds in relating the struggles of the Indian movements to the liberation struggles now going on all over the world.]

Kwame Nkrumah said, "Thought without action is empty and action without thoughts is blind." He says, "Revolutions are made by men who think as men of action and act as men of thought. These are the only people who make revolution."

. . . Revolution is based on scientific reality. It is based on a proper and correct analysis of the forces which make history. President Agnet Sekutoure of Guinea says that revolution knows no sentimentality. It does not depend upon what you think, what you believe, or what you like . . . "What it is, is what it is." Revolution is based on a complete understanding not of what we would like it to be, but of what it really is.

The job of the revolutionary is to use all the positive forces to move to his desired end. Understanding that, [we see] that the legal apparatus plays an important role in the revolutionary's struggle. [He] must do whatever one can do to make it viable for one to continue the struggle.

Bill Kunstler and thousands of other lawyers have been continually using the legal apparatus to open up room to give revolutionaries more breathing space if nothing else. And when you are in a life-and-death struggle, breathing space can mean an awful lot . .

Many people talk about revolution but do not really discuss change. If we can say anything about life and be absolutely correct [it is that] all things change. Change is permanent and constant. Everything changes all the time. No man can stop change. Nixon can't stop it. The American Government can't stop it. NATO can't stop it. Everything changes. Each day as we get older, we get closer to death. We also get closer to maturity.

There is no real philosophical discussion when we say that everything changes. [That discussion] only begins when we ask, "How does change come about?"

Change comes about through a constant dialectical process as opposite forces come in contact with one another and create conflict. It is that way with all things in life, even with man himself. Man is made up of opposite forces. Once we begin to understand this, we see that the job of a revolutionary is to analyze the forces, and issues, to find the positive forces, collect the positives, and wage war against the negatives.

Even while the revolutionary allies himself with the positive and opposes the negative, he can never get rid of the negative because everything must have positive and negative. His job is to build the positive so that it is so strong that it controls the negative. As the inter-action continues, new change comes about, but the positive is in command.

When people are oppressed, the negative factor is dominant. Thus the people struggle to bring about the positive factors and make those positive factors dominant. If we could get this principle properly understood, perhaps we can move much better in our revolutionary struggle.

The job of a revolutionary is to find the universal truth (which is objective and does not count on what he feels, thinks, or believes) and apply it to his particular situation. Thus all revolutionaries must work in accord with the same principles.

I organized for the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party. Our party is an international party. The base of the party is Africa, the home of the black man. Our party seeks to organize black peoples, Africans all over the world, to channel our energies and to direct them toward desired goals.

When a people move properly for their liberation, they reach a certain stage where the complexities of their struggle no longer give way to spontaneous action. There come a time when revolutionaries must sit and properly plan what they want to do. In order to do that, they must have precise objectives and crystal-clear ideology.

Our party's objective is Pan-Africanism. We define Pan-Africanism as the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism. Our party knows that when this objective is achieved, the black man will be liberated all over the world.

When a people fight against imperialism, nationalism is a prerequisite for that struggle. It is not the final stage, but it is a necessary first stage. If we study the struggles presently going on around the world, we will see nationalism becoming more and more a reality in the struggles for the people.

The Chinese say, "No participation, no correct observation." This runs counter to everything we are taught in America where we are told that somebody on the outside will give you an objective analysis.

In America . . . the struggle of the black man began prior to nationalism. The American press would have us believe that that was a struggle for integration with the American capitalist system. If they were correct, black people would not have gone to Black Power and Black Nationalism but would in fact have been trying to get into the mainstream of America. The fact is that black people have been going deeper into Black Nationalism.

–Associated Press

Stokely Carmichael Greets a Brother at the BIA

The same thing happens to the Indian movement. The job of the press now is to confuse the people, to present the wrong objectives, to have the people think they are fighting for this when in fact they are fighting for that. But "what it is, is what it is," and nobody can change that.

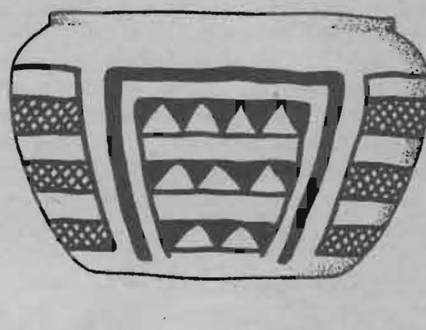
When people a few years ago made great hypotheses about the flatness of the world, the world was always round. It is not what you think. It is not what you feel. It is what it is.

The black man must fight for land. Malcolm X, who made every contribution to the black struggle, and to the world struggle generally, was able to tell us that when you want revolutionary struggle, you must struggle for land. If you do not own land or control land you will be under the power of he who does own and control the land. If you don't own land you can not have a nation. It is from the land that you get everything. What you eat comes from the land. The clothes that you wear come from the land. All the materials necessary for a technological society come from the land. When people fight a revolutionary struggle, they must be fighting for land.

If they are not fighting for land, they are not fighting a revolutionary struggle. They will be fighting a reform movement. You can make headway in a reform movement. But reform is not revolution.

Malcolm X tells us that revolution knows no compromise. It is bloody and overturns everything in its path. A revolutionary seeks to destroy an old system and replace it with a new one. A reformist seeks to keep an old system but just try to paint it up and window dress it, if you will.

If you want revolution, you must fight for land. Malcolm X told us that you can change the structure and the legislation of a society, but if you don't attack the values of a society, the system will remain intact. Certainly we've seen that about America.



While the structure and the legislation of America has changed, the values have remained the same and instead of becoming less repressive, it is becoming more repressive.

If we want to talk seriously about revolution, we must understand the values we are attacking in America and we must understand the land for which we are fighting.

Martin Luther King used to tell us that "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again." Truth may be very bitter, but we must deal with it. We must embrace it and work with it. If we try to deny it, we will be crushed to the earth, but if we work with it, we will be able to work our way towards liberation. If I stand on truth, and you don't like what I say, then you leave Stokely Carmichael out of it. Don't say, "Stokely Carmichael knows." Say, "Is it true?" If it's true, you go ahead and deal with it and leave me out of it. Truth is a terrible weapon.

When you fight for revolution, you must fight for land. The land of the black man is Africa. That is his land. That is what he is struggling for even though he is struggling in America. The land in America belongs to the red man. His struggle is for his land. It can only be for his land.

European imperialism has affected many people. It has spread the black man all over the world. It has built itself on the wealth and labour of the black man. But it has decimated the red man.

But truth crushed to earth shall rise again.

The land belongs to the red man.

Anybody who thinks seriously about working on behalf of the red man must deal with this truth. The land on which we live, on which we inhabit, which we exploit – that land belongs to the red man. He must come first in any dealings with the land.

European imperialism is terrible. But it will be destroyed properly and thoroughly. The red man plays a vital and a crucial role in the struggle to destroy it. It is not a question of quantity in revolution. It is a question of quality. In a revolutionary struggle, one makes progress when one makes a qualitatively better move.

Indians represent quality in its most provocative form – Truth. The truth is that this land belongs to the red man. Any questions we want to deal with must proceed only from this reality.

It is the wealth and labour of Africa that has built European imperialism in America. I can say that and be absolutely correct. I have suffered under that system and that is why I have no alternative but to work to destroy American capitalism.

In a revolutionary struggle, history is a vital weapon. If once history is correctly interpreted, it will inspire you. The history of this country has been incorrectly interpreted to make it look that the red man is a stupid man who sold his land for beads and trinkets. He couldn't fight against the white man because he was busy fighting against himself. This is nonsense.

None of us sitting in this room, including the red men, can tell us very much about this country before the coming of the Europeans. The attempt is to make it look as though the red man had no business or affairs of value here. (There is so little historical or anthropological research [of value] .)

That is an incorrect interpretation of history. If we are serious about solving the problems that we face as people and really move towards humanity, these are problems we have to grapple with. No matter how difficult they may be, we must grapple with them and deal with them.

The red man has a history. The red man has a proud and glorious history. That history is not to be found in the American history books. But it must be found. The only way that it can be found is when the red man has his proper nationalism. And no force on earth can stop him from getting it.

Those who say that they support the red man must support him and urge him toward his nationalism and toward its interpretation of history. They must accept it and present it properly and deal with it from that point on.

Action without thought is blind. If you are getting into a struggle, you might as well know what you are getting into.

When the red man picked up a gun at Wounded Knee, it was a struggle for his land. That is all it was. And this is just a sign of a new struggle that is coming to bear. And many people who today support the red man when he demands his land will, in fact, turn against him. That is why it is important to know what you are struggling about.

All of us must struggle against capitalism. The red man is struggling against capitalism. Certainly he is! He must! He has been a vicious victim of capitalism. It is on his land that the most powerful imperial system has been built at his very expense. Of course he must struggle against it whether he is conscious of it or not.

What it is, is what it is.

The red man is struggling to build socialism. So is the black man. Poor whites in this country have to struggle against capitalism. The difference is that the black man and the red man are conscious of their oppression. The poor white man is not conscious of his oppression. But as the objective conditions of this country build up, he will become conscious of his oppression.

Every country has an ideology, including this one. And ideology affects everyone whether or not they are conscious of it. What makes revolution is making people conscious of the forces at work against them. For example, a few years ago many black people, many red people, many white people went to Vietnam to fight. Some of them really believed they were fighting for democracy, fighting for the Good Guys against terrorism. In fact, they were fighting for the interests of American capitalism.

We have a proper responsibility to understand the forces at work against us. Capitalism is a vicious system. It is the responsibility of this system that has put the world in the havoc in which it now finds itself.

It is this system — which says to get money by any means necessary — that is responsible for the condition of the red man today. It is this system that has allowed the Europeans to decimate the red man and his land. "Just get money by any means necessary." This is a backward system that needs to be changed. Changed through revolutionary struggle.

Change can only come through bloodshed. I say that not because I want bloodshed, but because revolution can not be built on sentimentality. What it is, is what it is.

This is a backward system because it pushes people backwards. The best way to make money is to push up the prices and push down the quality and quantity of goods. America, the most technologically-advanced country in the world, is going backwards in its products.

If we fail to understand this, we ourselves will wind up running after profit and thinking that that is what the revolution is all about. If the red man is not careful, they might give him some money and tell him to join the American system. And he might say, "All right."

What we are fighting for is not money. It is not profit. We are fighting for something far greater than that: man's humanity. Man and not money is our primary motivating force.

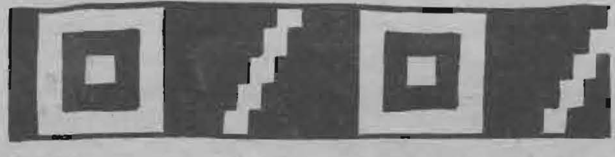
Now, people will tell you that Carmichael is idealistic for saying all this. [But, I say,] capitalism is a backward system. It has a backward belief of the nature of man. Capitalism believes that man is basically selfish, basically greedy, basically bad.

Man is not basically evil; man is not basically bad. Nor is he basically good. Man is made up of confronting opposites. It is the opposites in conflict with one another that produce the dynamism of life. Man is, like all things, a contradiction of opposing forces.

Depending upon how the society is organized, it will either elicit the negative characteristics of man or elicit the positive characteristics of man. America, being a backward society, elicits the negative attributes of man. That is why it is so important for revolutionaries to understand the necessity of constantly pushing the positive.

When we see the history of this country [as it has commonly been presented] it makes it appear as though all the black man and the red man did was to constantly fight each other. Now that is not true. I'm not saying we did not fight each other. We probably did. But it is also true that the black man and the red man formed very strong coalitions against the European invaders. That is an historical fact.

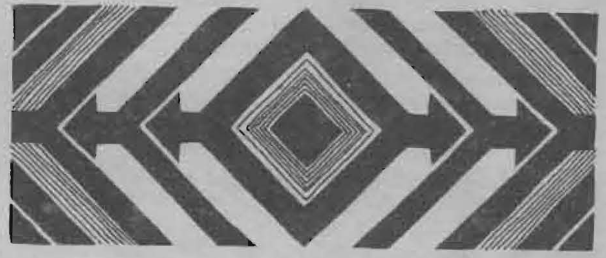
The presentation of history is crucial in the revolutionary struggle. If the presentation of history tells us that the black man and the red man were always fighting and were never friends, it makes it difficult for us to come together today. We must come together to increase our forces against capitalism. If the history tells us that the black man and the red man worked together all the way down the line, it will be much easier to come together and work together.



Of course, the black man and the red man came together. There was too much intermarriage for it to have been anything else. We know that when the black man escaped, he went to the Indian [lands] and was taken in there. That is the history we must push.

So too, we must push a positive interpretation of the red man and his glorious struggles. We know what is done with the history of the red man. It is made to appear as though there were just cowboys and Indians, and the Indians were dirty low-down men who snuck up at night and did all those dirty things. But lo and behold the cavalry come riding in dignity and pride to wipe out the Indians. That is a backward interpretation of history.

Revolutionary processes must come to bear in each of us to wipe out this negative aspect of history and look for the proper aspect of it. Look for the glorious struggle of the red man so we ourselves will see him in his proper lights. If you don't see him in his proper lights, you might think you're doing him a favor. When you see him in his proper light, you will understand that you have a responsibility to work shoulder to shoulder with him.



The struggle, of course, is not at all easy. It is very easy, though, to be sidetracked from the struggle. In this country, it is very easy to be sidetracked onto so many different issues, be it a romantic, adventuristic, or just ego-tripping. Struggle is difficult. I don't want an easy struggle. I couldn't use one. I come from a struggling people. Since I have realized that my whole life has been a struggle against a capitalist system of oppression, I have the responsibility to direct the rest of my life to continue fighting against it.

I know that the red man has a history which is one he is proud of. We must understand that history in order for us to understand the relationship with which we deal with the red man. The red man has a sense of dignity. If we are to work with the red man, we must understand that sense of dignity. The red man has a struggle in which only he can lead. The rest of us can support and must support.

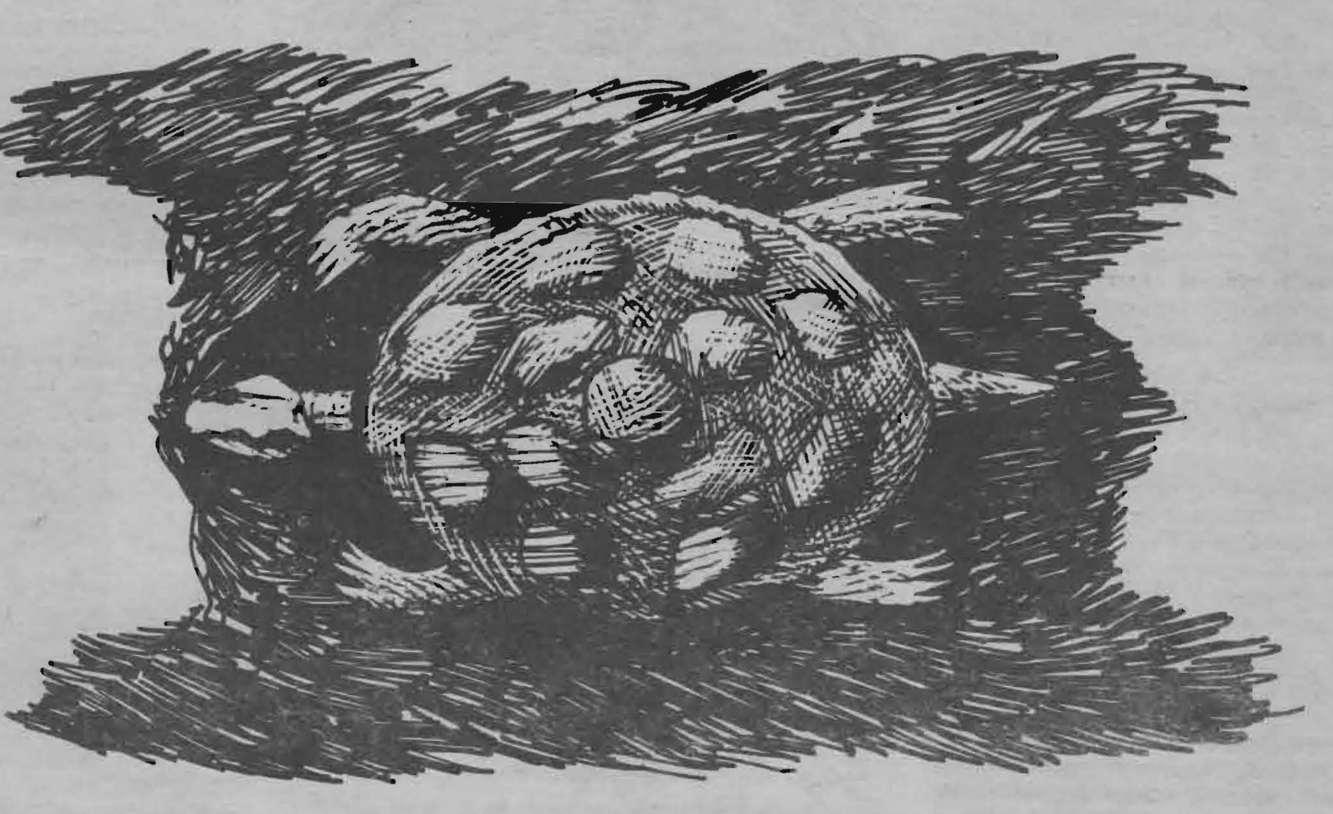
I can only speak for a small, dedicated minority within the masses of the African peoples. And I tell the red man that our party, the All-African Peoples' Revolutionary Party, supports the red man in his just struggle one hundred and fifty percent. Our people know that he will get his land back.

It is our honor and our pride to be called to support such a just struggle. Our blood will be shed for the struggle of the red man because in shedding it for the struggle of the red man, we shed it for a greater humanity and there is no greater cause.

We urge our brother the red man to continue his struggle to beware of all the illusions and deceptions and misdirections of the oppressor. We tell them any time they need us we are here. And not only are we here. Any man who truly loves justice must support the red man.

We know you will win. We are not afraid of the truth or the consequences. Your victory will right a wrong that has been wrong for centuries.

[The full text of Stokely Carmichael's remarks, along with the welcome of Russell Means and William Kunstler, is available in tape, cassette, or 8-track cartridge format from AKWESASNE NOTES, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. The tape is slightly over 60 minutes, and is priced at $9, with a 50% discount for individuals.]



WATER WARS IN THE LAND OF ENCHANTMENT

Its official nickname is the "Land of Enchantment," and judging from the ever-increasing influx of tourists and others seeking escape from the rigors of life elsewhere, New Mexico's claims are not exaggerated. It is a state of such stark and pristine beauty that 20th century manifestations such as telephone lines and paved highways can sometimes seem intrusive and out of place.

Because of such qualities, New Mexico is rapidly becoming one of the new frontiers of development, and as officials there have noted, the potential for economic growth seems limited by only one factor: the shortage of water. Cities like Albuquerque, Santa Fe and Taos simply must have access to ever-increasing quantities if they are to grow as rapidly as their officials would prefer.

That necessity has put the developing urban centers into a collision course with the state's Indians and small Chicano farmers, among others, and most observers on the scene regard the outcome as a foregone conclusion. But Race Relations Reporter *writer Steve Nickeson has been examining the issue for seven months, and he reports that Indian rights activists argue that the Indians, especially, may have a powerful ally: the law. The problem, the activists say, is that the law has been systematically ignored by the federal government — and particularly in cases where New Mexico's water is concerned.*

Early in April an obscure memo circulated its pedestrian way up through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Morris Thompson, the commissioner, and his deputy, Lafollette Butler, were out of town, and a water specialist named Ken Payton from the Bureau's Trust Responsibility division was in "acting" charge. Payton approved the memo and sent it on up the line where John Whitacker, Interior Department undersecretary, affixed his name and Interior's ratification. From there the memo went to the Office of Management and Budget.

It was an ordinary procedure for an ordinary memo that contained only a few answers to some Management and Budget questions about a sprinkler irrigations system on part of the Navajo Irrigation Project in northwestern New Mexico. One question was how the sprinklers would affect the Navajo's water right. In part the bureau's answer read, "Its effect upon the Navajo water right depends upon the attitude of the State of New Mexico."

Under the legal theory of the *Winters Doctrine* of reserved Indian water rights, and under the Secretary of Interior's trust responsibility to protect Indian land and water, and in the minds of Indians and Indian rights advocates, the State of New Mexico is the last dominion the BIA should defer to in almost any matter — especially Indian water rights. And it was assumed by the Indians who discovered the memo that Whitacker and Payton should know that.

But the memo was still an ordinary one because it is ordinary for the BIA and the Departments of Interior and Justice to operate in oblivion of Indian law, or contrary to federal responsibilities — especially when it comes to Indian water and even more especially when it comes to Indian water in the State of New Mexico.

The Navajo Irrigation Project, after all, was proposed so that the Navajos would not oppose the construction of the San Juan-Chama (SJ-C) Diversion Project that would take water from a river basin on which the Navajos had water rights. SJ-C was built in New Mexico. And the state, being as dry as it is, has to protect that water, and part of the protection plan is a court case called *New Mexico v Aamodt* — which is the prototype of the federal government's ordinary procedures.

Aamodt is about 10 years old as a distinct case, and much older yet in conception. It is the first and precedent setting action of a series of four that will litigate water rights on four different tributaries of the Rio Grande. Specifically, *Aamodt* will settle the rights of users to the Pojoaque River and its two tributaries the Nambe and Rio Tesuque. Added all together the Pojoaque, Nambe and Rio Tesuque cover about 50 miles of stream bed, and are usually either on the brink of going dry or over that brink. Among the users of this scant stream system and the shallow ground water that flows with it are the Indian Pueblos of Pojoaque, Tesuque, Nambe and San Ildefonso.

On close inspection *Aamodt* is a bizarre tangle of contradicting legal theories, manufactured conflicts, misplaced parties and jurisdictional smoke screens. It is surrounded by a web of bureaucratic and metropolitan empire building, impossible political alliances, high pressure salesmanship and a mammoth thirst for water — not to drink but to parlay into wealth.

It is a unique case in the eyes of most observers who say that the real conflict in *Aamodt* is not where the legal documents and the courts, to this point, say it is. The briefs say the State of New Mexico and the United States, on behalf of the four Pueblos are plaintiffs against the defendants, R. Lee Aamodt *et al,* the non-Indian water users on the Pojoaque system. But the observers say the conflict lies in a partial switch of parties: the State of New Mexico and the non-Indian users against the four Pueblos.

An Osage lawyer, George Crossland, who earlier helped try what Tate had helped try, said the case was born of a larger situation that "stinks to high heaven."

The out-spoken maverick Indian water rights advocate from the Interior Department, William Veeder, said, as he has been saying for the last six years, "In Aamodt you are watching the destruction of the oldest continuing culture in the United States." (Or, in other words and facts, with their current rate of water use, the Pueblo economies, and thus the Pueblos are dying. And if they are denied rights to more water, they will soon be entirely dead.)

The Associate Interior Solicitor for Indian Affairs, Reid Chambers, has said to the press he was optimistic about *Aamodt,* but others quote him saying the case is a "sinking ship" and one he does not intend to go down with.

And no matter how they view the case otherwise, almost all say it is a monument to the genius of Paul Bloom, the Special Assistant to New Mexico's attorney general; to the political power of former U.S. Senator Clinton P. Anderson among others; and to the monolithic influence that the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation wields from the statehouse in Santa Fe, to the U.S. Congress, to the offices of the U.S. Attorney General.

In 1848, when the Mexican Republic relinquished its sovereignty over New Mexico and other territories to the U.S., the federal government, in theory at least, viewed Indians, or those who were no threat, as quasisovereign nations vested with private title to the land they occupied. This theory was affirmed for New Mexico's Pueblos by Congress in acts of 1854 and 1858 that gave up all federal title to land claimed by the Pueblos. The successor to these acts was neglect.

In 1876, the Supreme Court upheld a ruling in *U.S. v Joseph* that gave the New Mexico territorial government some powers over the Pueblos. But, as legal historians have written, the territorial government was an arm of the federal; thus the treatment of Pueblos was more or less the same as the treatment of other Indians, with the exception that they were taxed by the territorial government and their loss of land to non-Indians was sanctioned by territorial, rather than federal, officials.

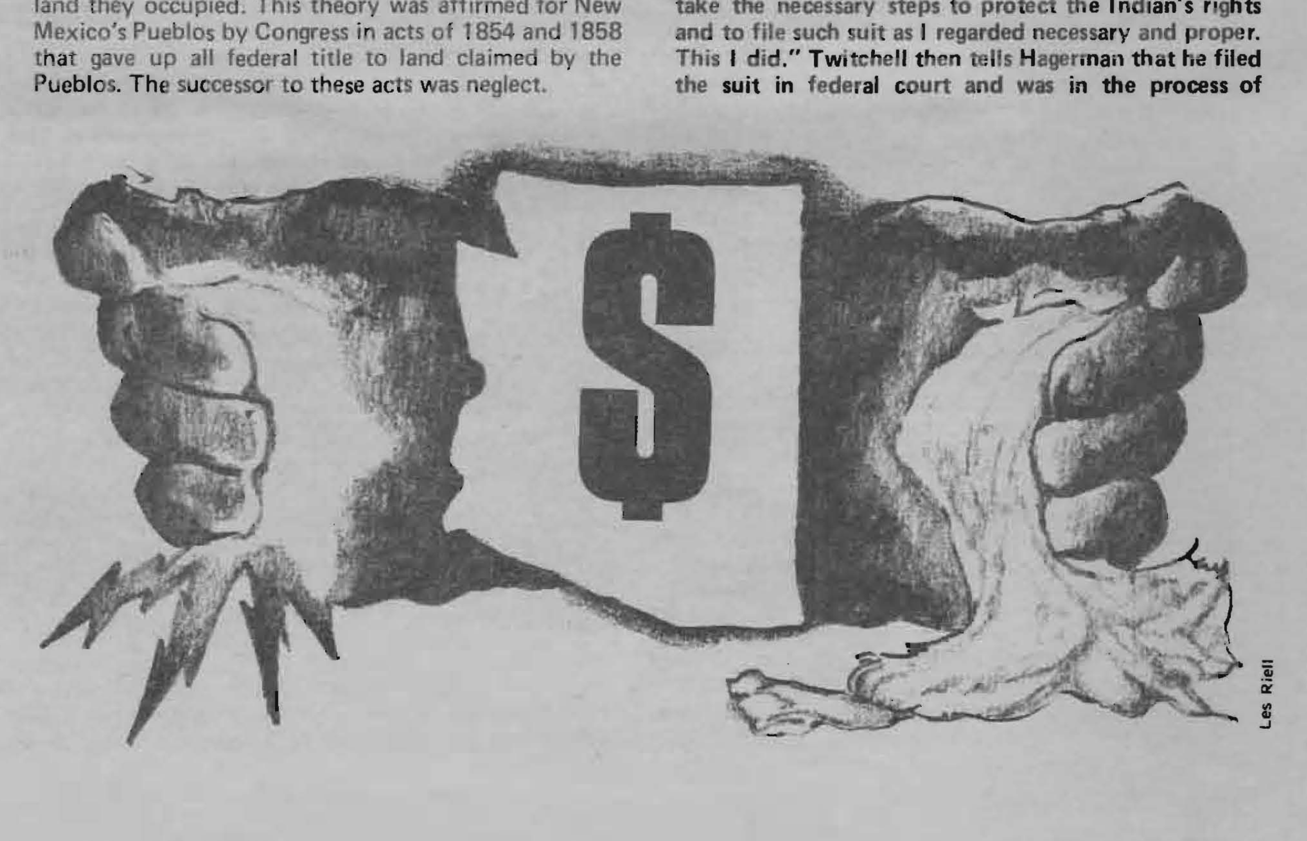
Just past the turn of the century while New Mexico was becoming a state, the federal government reaffirmed jurisdiction over the Pueblos by stipulating in the New Mexico Enabling Act that the Pueblos would come under the federal definitions of "Indian" and "Indian Country." The constitutionality of the act was upheld in the *Sandoval* decision, in which the Supreme Court said, in overturning *U.S. v Joseph,* that *Joseph* was heard on insufficient evidence. The effect of *Sandoval* was two fold: first it relinquished state sovereignty over the Pueblos and; second it caused a minor panic among non-Indians who saw that the precedent was set for a court decree that they held former Pueblo lands illegally.

The matter never went to court, but to Congress, which passed in 1924 the Pueblo Lands Board Act: a vehicle for restoring, or compensating for, land the Pueblos had lost under the auspices of the *Joseph* decision and territorial rule. The Act was based on a formula in which non-Indian land within the Pueblos held by title since 1902, or un-titled land held by payment of taxes since 1889, would be condemned for Pueblo restoration. Non-Indians whose land titles were prior to 1902 could keep their land, and the federal government would pay the Pueblos compensation for the loss.

The board appointed to administer the Act had been in business less than a year when the inescapable problem of Pueblo water was dropped in their laps by a lawyer named R. E. Twitchell — a prophet. In a letter, dated Jan. 8, 1925, to Herbert Hagerman, former New Mexico Governor, and head of the board, Twitchell wrote in part: — "To be brief — the land holdings of the Pueblo communities of Nambe, Tesuque, Pojoaque and San Ildefonso . . . are worthless except as their water rights for irrigation of those lands are concerned. To protect these rights and secure a very late in the day adjudication of the Indian priorities . . . I was (several years previous) appointed Assistant Attorney General."

Twitchell then explains that he had succeeded in getting a water case against the Indians thrown out of a state court, because the state court did not have jurisdiction to try the matter.

Following that he continues, ". . . The Secretary of the Interior . . . presented the matter to the Department of Justice and I was instructed by letter and by wire to take the necessary steps to protect the Indian's rights and to file such suit as I regarded necessary and proper. This I did." Twitchell then tells Hagerman that he filed the suit in federal court and was in the process of



Les Riell

having the petition served on 600 non-Indian defendants.

Then, "You can imagine my surprise . . . last fall . . . at receiving a letter from the Attorney General of the United States advising me that my services would not be longer required. . . . The Department of Justice never took up with the Department of Interior or the Bureau of Indian Affairs the question of whether there was pending any litigation involving Indian rights . . . I know that the Department of Justice does not even now take sufficient interest in the rights of these Indians to give them the only protection they can possibly receive."

Twitchell promised Hagerman that he would return to Pueblo water matters, but he seems to have disappeared along with his case for Nambe, Tesuque, Pojoaque and San Ildefonso. However, much the same kind of case he had bumped from state court turned up 40 years later, again in state court under the name *New Mexico v Aamodt.*

Evidently Hagerman either knew from the start or thoroughly took to heart what Twitchell had written, because Hagerman displayed a parellel bias to BIA Commissioner Charles Rhodes in a personal memorandum written about 1932, in which Hagerman also joined the ranks of prophets. To Rhodes he wrote that only he and another member of the board (then dead) knew from the beginning that "water was the 'guts' of the whole business."

In this and other reports Hagerman expressed his attitude that the Pueblos were entitled to expanding, immemorial water rights – like *Winters Doctrine* rights – and that even though the Pueblos had lost land to non-Indians, all the water within the historical exterior boundries of the Pueblos had always been theirs and never lost to non-Indians. He told Rhodes that he favoured a *Winters Doctrine* litigation of Pueblo water and that he had told Congress to affirm the inalienability of Pueblo water; and that Congress did not have to compensate the Pueblos for water loss because there never was a loss.

NO WATER FOR PUEBLOS

This attitude put Hagerman on a collision course with the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Indian affairs and John Collier, who was soon to become one of the most liberal and highly regarded BIA Commissioners in history. It was Collier's position that the water *was* lost, along with land, to non-Indians, and that Congress should recognize that loss by compensating the Pueblos about two-thirds more than Hagerman recommended. Hagerman includes part of a transcript from a senate subcommittee hearing in which Collier skirts Hagerman's contention that the Pueblos were entitled to *Winters Doctrine* rights and then attacks him for recommending smaller compensations.

On that exchange Hagerman wrote: "It was quite apparent . . . that the whole question of the loss of Indian water rights should be smothered in a mass of collateral charges and accusations against the bureau and against me . . . In other words, it is now perfectly clear that John Collier, for reasons best known to himself, has, with the devious methods and almost satanic cunning which characterizes his operations, while pretending to be the champion of Indians' rights, really shamefully betrayed them in respect to their principal remaining resource, to-wit water. Why the subcommittee should back him in this position it is useless to surmise, though the possible reason for it is somewhat more apparent now than it was during the hearings in Washington. It must be evident to anyone acquainted with political conditions in New Mexico that it would be very difficult indeed for any one in high public position to support the proposition that the Indians have prior rights over the non-Indians to any water at all. The natural way to 'adjust' the matter . . . is to give the water to the whites, and as much more cash as possible out of the public treasury to the Indians."

Primary among the political conditions that Hagerman referred to was Albuquerque's campaign, begun in 1927, for the establishment of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District. The success of the district depended upon putting as much water as possible into a band of irrigable land roughly seven miles wide and 125 miles long, which began a few miles down stream from *Aamodt's* four Pueblos. The City of Albuquerque sits squarely in the middle of the district, and many say Albuquerque *is* the district, through its exercise of political and economic power over the area.

But it was obvious from the beginning that the Rio Grande was not equal to the task of delivering water to Albuquerque, it conservancy district, southern New Mexico and Texas. So in the mid-1930's a partial solution was conceptualized by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation in the form of the San Juan-Chama Diversion Project, which would take water from the Upper Colorado River Basin, run it through tunnels below the continental divide and into Rio Chama that converges with the Rio Grande about 100 miles north of Albuquerque. SJ-C was completed early in this decade and by 1973 a full delivery of 110,000 annual-acre-feet of Colorado River water was flowing into the Rio Grande.

Of that amount, Albuquerque is allotted 48,000-acre-feet: the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District receives 21,000-acre-feet; water for recreation amounts to 5,000-acre-feet, and is destined for Cochiti Lake on the northern edge of the Conservancy District; and 28,000-acre-feet are allotted for supplemental irrigation water on Rio Grande tributary systems – meaning that irrigators on those systems could use an additional 28,000-acre-feet without diminishing the flow of the main Rio Grande.

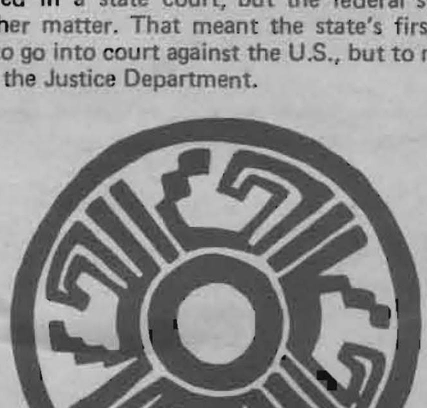
One problem remained. SJ-C water was precisely measured and fully allotted but it was joining the Rio Grande system where water use is not all legally accounted for. Thus the New Mexico State engineer could not administer and protect the SJ-C water – especially the supplemental irrigation water – until a priority of rights was decreed on the tributaries. In essence, the need was for an accurate legal method of telling SJ-C water from Rio Grande water as both flowed down the same course. To this end, the State began the four litigations on the Rio Grande tributaries of: the Pojoaque River, Rio Chama, Santa Cruz River and Rio de Taos.

The suit on the Pojoaque, *Aamodt,* was the first case on the state court docket – a typical western states water action. Because the state controls that water in its intrastate stream systems it appears in court as the plaintiff demanding that defendant water users prove they have been appropriating, and for how long, a specific amount of water and putting it to a beneficial use. When a user's proof is established, the state then allows an offer of judgment to be made against it for that specific amount, until all the users have been awarded judgments and title to the water they need. In *Aamodt* the State was claiming no water for itself. When it first went into a state court, the Indian water users on the four Pueblos were listed as defendants along with all others. That was the fly in *Aamodt's* ointment – the same fly that R. E. Twitchell had used to get the 1920's case thrown out of a state court: states can't sue Indians in state courts.

But there were differences. Apparently the early suit did not directly involve the state and no one at the time was under the gun to administer SJ-C water. Still, in the early 1960's, New Mexico officials knew that *Aamodt* would die in a state court, so it would therefore have to be heard in a federal one. But here the ground was soft. Federal court jurisdiction precludes hearing essentially friendly suits to quiet title like *Aamodt.* The jurisdiction is limited, among other restrictions, to hearing only suits that arise with a "case" or "controversy" under the Constitution, treaties or federal law. Attorneys who studied the case agreed the State was not convincing in its arguments that the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe- Hidalgo and the Pueblo Lands Board Act had enough bearing on the situation to give federal jurisdiction to *Aamodt.*

The second major problem was that the U.S., on behalf of the Indians, could simply claim sovereign immunity from suit and have the case dismissed. And finally, since the state was claiming no water for itself thus posing no controversy between it and the U.S., the federal government could try to have New Mexico dismissed as a party to the action and continue the case against the non-Indians.

Those were only the legal impediments. The other State handicap was that if *Aamodt* was to be settled on New Mexico's terms – terms that included keeping as much water as possible flowing into the pivots of its economy – it would have to be in a position to call all the shots during the entire litigation. That ability was assured in a state court, but the federal system was another matter. That meant the state's first task was not to go into court against the U.S., but to make truce with the Justice Department.



Between August 1965, and May the following year - no one remembers just when – Harlan Flint and Paul Bloom, both attorneys for New Mexico, went to Washington, D.C. in order, as some say, "to put in the fix on *Aamodt.*"

At the Justice Department, Flint and Bloom met with Dave Warner, section chief of general litigation for the department's lands division; two of Warner's subcordinates, Walter Kiechel and Glen Taylor; newly appointed Associate Interior Solicitor for Indian Affairs Richmond Allan; Phil Corke, a natural resource officer in the BIA, and several others. According to Corke, Flint and Bloom reviewed the case and then lined out the tactics and procedures they felt the Justice Department should should follow once *Aamodt* was filed in federal court. Corke said the government lawyers generally agreed to the state's plan and everyone went home satisfied. The details of the plan were worked out in a series of subsequent meeting.

People who have been close to *Aamodt* say that if the meetings had not taken place, and if the Justice Department had adopted an advocate, rather than a negligent attitude toward Indian water rights, and if there were no political pressures from the Interior Department and New Mexico on Justice to preserve their negligence, and if New Mexico lawyers, particularly Bloom, did not have the reputation of being able to "outlawyer" anyone whom Justice sends against them, then Justice would have litigated *Aamodt* in roughly the following manner:

> *It would have dismissed the case entirely, or New Mexico as a party.*
>
> *It would then have conducted a thorough land and water inventory for the Pueblos along the precedents set by* Arizona v California.
>
> *It would have litigated* Winters Doctrine *rights to ground water to all four of the Pueblos; surface rights to the Pojoaque River for Nambe, Pojoaque and Tesuque; and main-stem rights on the Rio Grande for San Ildefonso, the only one of the four that sits astride the Rio Grande.*

It would have been the best of all worlds for the Indians, made possible by the *Winters* decision of 1905.

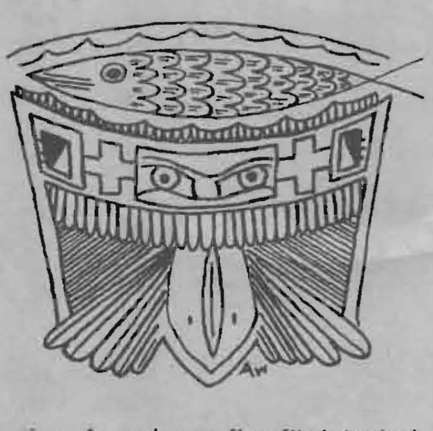
But "ifs" are not reality in *Aamodt.* And the case continued its fixed course. According to a study of the legal proceedings of *Aamodt,* prepared by a lawyer from the Harvard Center for Law and Education, Dan Rosenfelt, the U.S. first entered the case, *New Mexico v U.S.* (as *Aamodt* was first called in federal court) in 1966 with motions to intervene and motions to dismiss. On hearing these motions, U.S. District Judge, Verle Payne, after confering with both sides, accepted the intervention and then realigned the parties making the U.S. and the four Pueblos co-plaintiffs with the State against the non–Indian water users. The next day the U.S. withdrew its motion to dismiss because the realignment was said to have satisfied the need for a case or controversy demanded by the federal court. Bloom said recently that the federal motion to dismiss was not according to the original plan worked out in Washington, but the conference with Judge Payne set the U.S. straight with the State again.

The product of the hearing, according to several lawyers, was one "manufactured" conflict, one suppressed conflict, and a case that was really two cases in one – or if a practical dimension is added, three cases in one. Legally speaking *Aamodt* contains the one case of the State against the non-Indian water users and the

(Continued on next page)

other case of the U.S. against the non-Indians. And on adding the practicality of the matter it also contains the case of the State and the water users against the Pueblos.

The validity of the practical dimension can be seen in the next procedure that Corke said Warner, Keichel, Allen and Taylor agreed to. This was the plan under which the Justice Department stood by while the State offered judgement against itself to the non-Pueblo defendants. In other words the court and the government are allowing the State to continue the federal case as if it were still back in state court, which according to many, is a violation of the constitutional limits on federal courts.



Since the time *Aamodt* was first filed, both the state and federal courts have decreed to almost 1,000 non-Indian defendants rights to substantial amounts of Indian water, and the Justice Department has not challenged any of the decrees. Simply stated, Justice is allowing the state to make offers of judgement not only against itself, but against its co-plaintiff, the Pueblos, as well. This, Indian lawyers maintain, is both a violation of the federal government's trust, responsibility to Indians and an illegal action – or non-action – under the U.S. Rules of Civil Procedure.

It all harkens back to Hagerman's losing face-off with John Collier and the U.S. Congress, for once again, the government, without question or action, assumes that the Indian water is gone.

Also, critics of the case say that the offers of judgement going by without challenge are one of the best of several indicators that the federal government has no intention of litigating to even a fraction of the limit of Indian law. Awarding water rights to non-Indians within the boundries of a reservation or Pueblo is as striking an antithesis to the *Winters Doctrine* as Indians have seen for years.

And more striking still is that the offers of judgement were going unchallenged during the time that the Justice Department said it was litigating for *Winters Doctrine* rights. But Justice Department critics say that the department's efforts towards *Winters* were so faint-hearted as to be cynical. For confirmation they point to a supplemental brief of a year ago, submitted by Don Redd, the man from Justice in charge of *Aamodt*, which read in part, "the difference (between state law and the *Winters Doctrine)* may be more one of semantics than substance." The brief was submitted in an effort to get the *Winters Doctrine* made the rule of the court in *Aamodt*, but it helped achieve the opposite.

William Veeder, perhaps the most vocal advocate of the *Winters Doctrine*, says the doctrine is "simplicity itself." He is backed by William Schaab, author of the Schaab Report, which says, "The sources of federal law which defined the water rights of the Pueblos are not difficult to ascertain, but they have not been adequately explored or worked up in (the government's case)." Schaab also wrote that the government's case on behalf of the Pueblos suffers from "confusion" and "lack of understanding" as seen ". . . in the presentation of alternative legal theories which include a right 'based upon appropriation and beneficial use' to irrigate all 'historically irrigated' lands. This is nearly the state's basic theory in the case."

George Crossland, another critic of *Aamodt*, said that Justice's confusion was due in part to the "diversionary tactic" that is at the heart of the State's arguments. In essence the state says that the Pueblos, owing to their age-old irrigation systems, invented the concept of prior appropriation long before it bacame the backbone of State Law (and the antipode of Indian law). Further, the state contends, the Pueblos exercised this form of rights under Spanish colonial rule and Mexican Republic rule, and territorial government rule and state rule and they waived their federal rights with the passage of the Pueblo Lands Board Act. The argument, the Indian water advocates claim, puts just enough patina of Indian respectability and federal legitimacy on a state law to make Indians and the federal government subordinate to it.

While they admit that New Mexico has come up with one of the more creative legal gambits in the case, those who oppose the state say there are too many holes in the theory for Justice to buy it without question. But that, the critics say, is exactly what Justice did and did proudly when allowing the New Mexico State Law of Prior Appropriation to become the rule of the federal court in *Aamodt;* challenging that decision only with the six-page "semantics and substance" brief that made no sense.

One group of critics gives Justice the benefit of the doubt at this point by saying the government lawyers simply do not have the competence or experience to stand up against Paul Bloom. Others say that the losing arguments in opposition to the State's theories were nothing more than "charades" to justify a few government lawyers' appearance in court.

To add weight to their contentions that Justice has always accepted the State's legal theories from the beginning, regardless of occasional passing nods toward *Winters*, critics point to the government's tacit approval of the way New Mexico has treated San Ildefonso Pueblo throughout the course of *Aamodt*. San Ildefonso is located on both the Rio Grande and the Pojoaque. But because there were no witnesses in the beginning that could say San Ildefonso had made any historical diversions of water from the Rio Grande, and because the State's case hinges around the law of prior appropriation, the State assumed that San Ildefonso had never claimed any rights to the Rio Grande. However, the State said San Ildefonso had claimed a right to the Pojoaque by a diversion of water from that stream, which after it wanders through and serves the other three Pueblos is either seasonally dry or a trickle by the time it reaches San Ildefonso. Thus, the State limited San Ildefonso's rights to the Pojoaque, which is almost worthless; and the federal government accepted that limitation. The federal government in fact was accepting that limitation even when it claimed to be arguing the *Winters Doctrine* – which says that Indians are entitled to prior and paramount rights to all water that originates on, borders or crosses their land. That, of course, would include the Rio Grande.

The final agreement worked between the U.S. and New Mexico, according to Phil Corke, was that the U.S. would not only accept the State's law and methods, but also the State's hydrological evidence on the nature of the ground water below the four Pueblos – evidence that Corke, a geologist, calls "pure baloney." He is not alone in that assessment, but is joined by William Gookin, a hydrologist who played a prominent role in the case *Arizona v California* and who was hired by Schaab to review hydrological evidence in *Aamodt* for a major section of the Schaab Report.

Corke says that what is at question in *Aamodt* is a tiny amount of surface water in the Pojoaque River, a sizably larger amount of ground water flowing with the surface water through strata of shallow alluvial sand and gravel, and an enormous quantity of water (about 55 million-acre-feet) stored below the alluvium in what is known as the Tesuque formation. Corke explains that according to the state's hydrology analysis of the region, there is only an interrelationship between the surface water and the shallow groundwater, thus the state and the federal government are pursuing the case under the theory that, in Corke's words, ". . . that's the only water up for grabs."

The state's hydrology hypothesizes an "impervious layer" between the alluvium and the Tesuque formation, which both Corke and Gookin say does not exist. They say that the shallow ground water is able to seep through and replenish the Tesuque storage basin which interrelates all the water underlying the four Pueblos. This, in their minds, means that the 55 million-acre-feet of water in storage should be part of the litigation in *Aamodt*, because geologically it is part of the rivers in question. Or as Gookin wrote in the Schaab Report, "It would seem to me that this water is a valuable natural resource which the Pueblos should be entitled to develop . . . ."

In concluding his report to Schaab, Gookin wrote, "To date the potential for the use of groundwater (by the Pueblos) has been ignored by the U.S. This potential is tremendous when considered in light of the magnitude of the available surface flows.

"There is the potential for capturing some portions of the 20,450-acre-feet which flows each year under the area (shallow groundwater) . . . . There is also the potential for developing some portion of the 55 million acre-feet of water stored under 'the area.'

"In our opinion these potentials hold the only substantial hope of relief for this water bankrupt basin. However, before proceeding to consider this potential there are again policy matters to be established. The State Engineer reputedly takes the position that groundwater is inviolate because to use it in one area *may* to *some* degree affect *some* other area. Is the U.S. prepared for a confrontation on this basic philosophy?"

To Gookin's last question Corke says the government has answered "no." He says that it should follow from the *Winters Doctrine* that a state engineer's decree closing a storage basin should not affect the Indian's rights or ability to drill a well, but, that as usual in *Aamodt* the Justice Department is in compliance with New Mexico and is failing to advocate Indian rights.

As opposition to the original stages of *Aamodt* grew, the Justice Department began to assume a harder and harder defensive posture, and so did the Albuquerque Area Office of the BIA – for to it fell the job of convincing the four Pueblos to pass resolutions putting their rights in the hands of Justice. Several sources say that BIA Area officials and U.S. Attorneys candidly admit that they "sold" the Pueblos on the litigation plan – a sales job that included sending Paul Bloom into various communities to explain Pueblo Water Rights to the Pueblos. Recently a U.S. Attorney, in reminiscence on the early years, told one source that Pojoaque and San Ildefonso had been the hardest Pueblos to "Sell" on *Aamodt*, but Nambe was easy because a small conservancy district dam for the regulation of supplemental irrigation water was slated for construction there. And there was not too much resistence on Tesuque because at the time, the Pueblo and the Area Office of the BIA were beginning negotiations for a 99-year land and water lease with a group of non-Indian speculators for location of a housing development to be known as *Colonias de Santa Fe*, which would soon earn a nation-wide and infamous reputation.

Another factor behind the sale, according to another source, was the influx of federal funds and self-help programs that arrived on the Pueblos late in the 1960s. This assistence would have come regardless of the position on *Aamodt*, but as the source said, "The Pueblos had part of the pie and naturally they wanted the whole thing," with the implication that the Pueblos were fearful of jeopardizing the programs if they took a stubborn attitude about their water.

However, two neighboring Pueblos were not convinced and in 1969 Santa Domingo and San Felipe began preparations to intervene in the case – much to Justice Department displeasure. George Crossland, who helped prepare the intervention suit, said the Justice Department's legal argument against intervention was that *Aamodt* would not affect the rights of the two down-stream Pueblos. Crossland said the argument ". is bullshit, because any action upstream has an effect downstream."

In Crossland's opinion, the real reason behind Justice's resistance was that "the Justice Department and the State had created a situation out there that stinks to high heaven and they didn't want anyone uncovering it." The Justice Department especially did not want William Veeder, *Aamodt's* most vocal critic, to have a hand in the exposure. But in July of 1970, Veeder was in Santa Fe preparing a case and waiting to go into court either as an expert witness for Santa Domingo and San Felipe, or as their co-counsel. For several months, the two Pueblos had sought to have Veeder authorized by the BIA to act as co-counsel because they felt he was the only government lawyer who could meet Bloom on equal ground. What eventually took place became an indicative, and at times a dramatic, sub-plot to *Aamodt*.

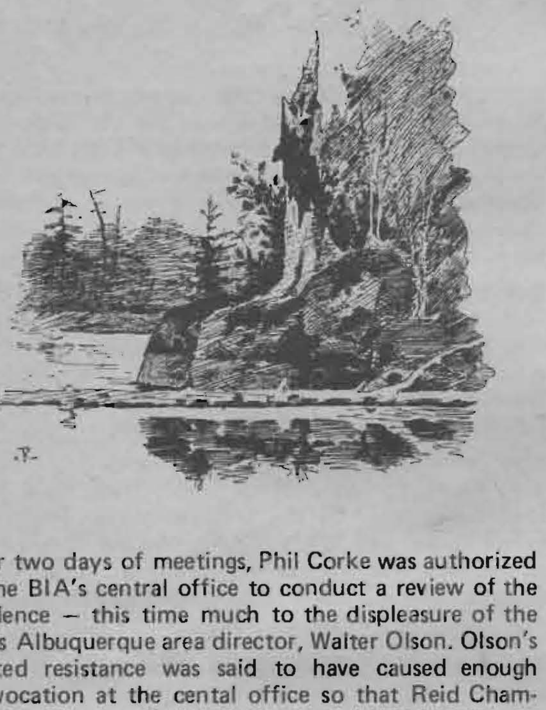
Throughout the weekend of July 18 and 19, 1970, Indian lawyers in Washington, including Crossland, Browning Pipestem, Kirk Kickingbird and others worked to find legal justification for Veeder's authorization to appear as co-counsel at the first hearing scheduled for 10 a.m. on the 20th. Once they found it the task was to get BIA Commissioner Louis Bruce to use it. At five minutes before noon in Washington and five minutes before 10 in Santa Fe, Bruce signed the authorization in the form of a telegram which was read over the phone to Veeder, who then went into court as counsel for the two Pueblos. Immediately, Justice Department officials in Santa Fe called back to Washington for an explanation and reversal of the authorization – but everybody in Washington had left for lunch. It was not until after the hearing that officials in Washington, including Keichel, Warner and William H. Rehnquist, soon to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, could bring enough pressure on Interior Secretary Rogers Morton to, in the words of one source, "force Louie Bruce to deny that he had ever written the telegram."

An "amended" telegram was then composed and sent to Veeder and the two Pueblos pulling Veeder off the case, as R. E. Twitchell was pulled 46 years before. The differences in this situation was that the amended telegram made it appear as if Veeder had gone into court without authorization, making him liable to a

felony charge. That word spread quickly and a couple of months later in a senate hearing then U.S. Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, asked Rogers Morton why both Veeder and Crossland were not in jail.

Most people familiar with the debacle said that Veeder stayed out of trouble over the case because Justice wanted to leave well enough alone, especially since Veeder had publicly stated that he was "willing to go to the mat" with Justice, and especially since Veeder had an Indian constituency that would one year later, over another issue, stage a fist-fight and brief occupation of the BIA Central Office on behalf of him, Corke and another BIA staff member, Lee Cook.

Eventually the intervention of Santa Domingo and San Felipe was denied by *Aamodt's* Special Master, on the grounds that the case did not affect their water rights. And so *Aamodt* continued calmly until December 1973 when a delegation of about 25 Pueblo leaders, representing the Northern Pueblos Tributary Water Rights Association converged on Washington searching for aid to intervene in *Aamodt*. They were worried about the BIA's preparation of hydrological evidence in the case and they wanted a six months delay in the trial date scheduled for April of this year.



After two days of meetings, Phil Corke was authorized by the BIA's central office to conduct a review of the eveidence – this time much to the displeasure of the BIA's Albuquerque area director, Walter Olson. Olson's spirited resistance was said to have caused enough equivocation at the cental office so that Reid Chambers asked Corke to delay going to New Mexico for the review until the middle of January. But in the meantime, the Albuquerque area office came up with $75,000 to retain William Schaab, an attorney for Taos Pueblo, Phil Ashby, a lawyer for Cochiti Pueblo and John Donnell, Tesuque's attorney, to review the case with the aid of an independent hydrologist. *Aamodt's* critics say they were heartened by the Area Office's move, but a little surprised because, as one of them said, "Area Offices usually don't have $75,000 just laying around."

Speculation has it that Olson scraped the money together in a last minute effort to keep Corke and his close assicate, Veeder, out of the case. As a result, Corke said his review was mainly one of frustration and fence-mending, but that he was pleased that Gookin was doing the hydrology for Schaab, Ashby and Donnell.

If *Aamodt's* critics were delighted when the case went under review, they were ecstatic when Schaab's work was done. In the report Schaab wrote that the legal case on behalf of the Pueblos was far from a winning one, and Gookin reported that the BIA's hydrology was incomplete, poorly prepared and in some cases wrong. Almost all concerned thought the requested delay in the trial was assured – and possibly even the intervention by the Water Rights Association, because several of the association's members had a direct stake in the case since their water rights would be litigated later under precedents set by *Aamodt*.

But *Aamodt* seems to move with an immortality of its own making. Early in April the hearing for the extention was held and in the course of it, Bloom requested that Schaab's report he submitted as evidence. Schaab bewildered all by arguing against the request and the court upheld him. His report, at least for the time being, went by the board. And well it might have because the Justice Department had remained unconvinced by it. The Justice lawyers told the hearing they fully prepared to take their law and evidence into trial April 16 as scheduled. With that testimony, the court could do little but agree with Bloom's logic that there was no cause for a six-month delay. And there was no intervention either. Thus, the non-Indian legal quest for Pueblo water rolled by the Northern Pueblo Tributary Water Rights Association, like it had rolled by Santa Domingo, San Felipe, William Veeder, Phil Corke, George Crossland, Herbert Hagerman, R. E. Twitchell and many others.

Because of the complexities and length of *Aamodt*, the trial has been broken into segments. The first two-week section, an attempt to determine how much water the Pueblo's have historically used, ended late in April. Another section, slated for early June on essentially the same question was postponed because of last minute changes in the testimony of one of the government's expert witnesses.

On Compassion, Money and Politics

Throughout the last 10 years the attitude of New Mexico's lawyer, Paul Bloom, toward the Pueblos has been a compassionate one. He has said that moving the case from a state court to a federal one was designed to protect the Pueblos' rights and that he and Flint negotiated the U.S. Government into a position as co-plaintiff as a further guarantee of Pueblo protection. And as he has told many Pueblos, in explaining their rights, if *Aamodt* did not settle their rights to what little they claimed from the Pojoaque, those rights would soon be sucked up by non-Indians down stream.

But that is about as compassionate as Bloom can afford to get because the political climate in New Mexico has not changed except for intensity since Hagerman told Rhodes, ". . it would be very difficult indeed for any one in high public position to support the proposition that the Indians have prior rights over non-Indians to any water at all."

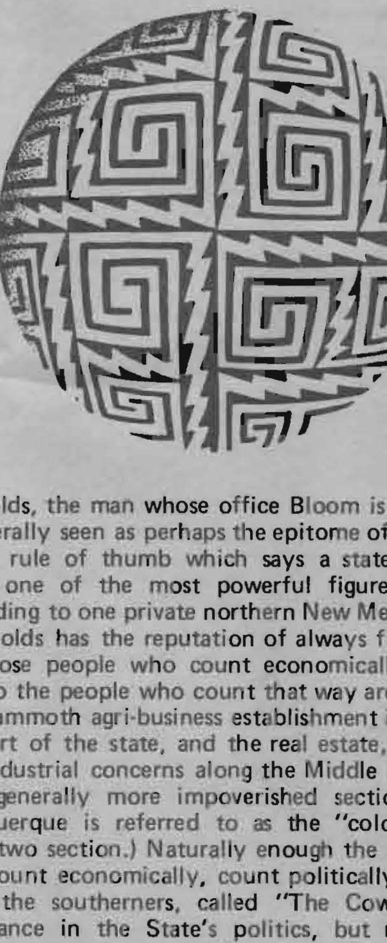
Few now would deny the validity of Hagerman's observation, but there are two schools of thought on how the political ramifications enter into *Aamodt*, and an assortment of similar situations throughout the state. One school says the politics are bred in the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, that part of the Interior Department that brought to New Mexico the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District and the San Juan--Chama Diversion Project among many others. The interrelationship was expressed by one man who said, "What's good for Reclamation, is good for Interior, is good for New Mexico."

And it is a growing relationship as seen in the constant efforts of all three to push to capacity the rationale and uses of such things as SJ-C. During the third week in June, hearings were being conducted in Washington on a bill that would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to put 50,000-acre-feet of SJ-C water a year, for the next 10 years, into central New Mexico's Elephant Butte Reservoir for the creation of a "permanent recreation pool." It was not clear by the bill if that meant bringing in additional water through SJ-C, of if the 50,000-acre-feet represented part of the current SJ-C flow that was not being used. But the testimony of New Mexico State Engineer Steve Reynolds on behalf of the bill shed some light on the matter. He said the the City of Albuquerque would use only about 17,000-acre-feet of its 48,000-acre-foot allotment until at least 1981 and irrigators on the tributaries would not be using their full contract for 28,000-acre-feet for many years, so the surplus could flow on down the Rio Grande to Elephant Butte.

But critics of the bill have found several inconsistencies in its stated purpose and its logic. First, Elephant Butte Reservoir has a capacity in the millions of acre-feet – making the new water literally a drop in the bucket. Second, because the Rio Grande is generally flowing at a low ebb, much of any additional water that goes into it will immediately sink to replenish the diminishing ground water supply. And third, after flowing some 400 miles through desert and in storage in a long and wide desert lake, the evaporation loss on the 50,000-acre-feet will be in the words of one water specialist, "staggering." Adding all the factors together, the bill's opponents say that it will do nothing but throw water away.

But in light of a broader context the bill is the embodiment of pure logic, at least for the state of New Mexico and the City of Albuquerque. SJ-C water is taken directly from the Navajo River, one of the main sources of water supply to the Jicarilla Apache Reservation in Northern New Mexico. SJ-C cut that supply to the Jicarillas at least by half. But the Jicarillas are beginning the initial stages of a *Winters Doctrine* water litigation and the State apparently is fearful that if any water is turned back into the Navajo River even temporarily it would strengthen the Jicarilla's claim to it forever. In other words, critics say the State would rather waste water than allow a reservation to use it.

But the second school of thought prefers to be more specific about New Mexico politics as reflected in *Aamodt*. This school lays much of it to the former U.S. Senator and still real estate dealer from Albuquerque, Clinton P. Anderson. Until his recent retirement from the Senate, Anderson held the number two spot on the Senate's Interior Committee. It was a position, they say, from which he wielded considerable authority over Interior and Reclamation, particularly when it came to some of his favourite projects such as the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District and San Juan-Chama. And from that position, say several New Mexico sources, Anderson became the political mentor and protector of New Mexico State Engineer Steve Reynolds.



Reynolds, the man whose office Bloom is assigned to, is generally seen as perhaps the epitome of the western states' rule of thumb which says a state engineer is often one of the most powerful figures in office. According to one private northern New Mexico lawyer, "Reynolds has the reputation of always finding water for those people who count economically." In New Mexico the people who count that way are member of the mammoth agri-business establishment in the southern part of the state, and the real estate, commercial and industrial concerns along the Middle Rio Grande. (The generally more impoverished section north of Albuquerque is referred to as the "colony" of the other two section.) Naturally enough the same people who count economically, count politically. For many years the southerners, called "The Cowboys," had dominance in the State's politics, but recently, reapportionment has put Albuquerque's interests on a more equal footing. And more recently still, the state's politics have been affected in some degree by a growing fifth-column environmentalist, anti-development movement. Across the political spectrum, the south calls itself conservative, the Middle Rio Grande area prefers moderate, and the regionally disembodied environmentalists say they are liberal.

Both regionally and ideologically all three forces have no use for each other, except for an occasional marriage of convenience. For example, sources say that both the South and the Middle sections agree pretty much on the policies of Steve Reynolds, but to environmentalists Reynolds is the arch-villian. In principle, environmentalists have opposed Reynolds on almost every move he has made from the establishment of conservancy districts to his proposal to defoliate river banks in an effort to conserve water that supports such growth.

But all three contingents are behind Reynolds on one issue – Indian water. In *Aamodt* the two older factions have maintained a self-assured and almost invisible profile, but the environmentalists are most vocal in Reynold's and Bloom's behalf. While the economic and development interests are fearful of the Pueblos being awarded expanding rights to either the main-stem Rio Grande or the deep groundwater because they have their eyes on that water too, the environmentalists are fearful because if the Pueblos are awarded the water, they might use it in alliance with the industrial or real estate establishment.

The basis for that fear is a BIA study from the early 1960's, the *Kirshner Report*, which said that real estate development would pump needed adrenalin into the Pueblo's almost non-existent economies. And although the report has been largely discredited in the first two attempts to put it to use – Cochiti Lake and *Colonias de Santa Fe* – the environmentalists are taking no chances. And while they say they abhor the poverty of most New Mexico Indians – particularly where it is the most pronounced in the Pueblos – they abhor even more the idea that Indians have either the aboriginal right, or the federally granted right, to develop their own resources on their own terms. And they say they will stick by the position through advocating the denial of Indian access to, or tribal jurisdiction over, those resources.

From that position the anti-developers have either initiated or supported New Mexico's legal attempts – so far successful – in getting state jurisdiction in taxation and land use laws extended onto parts of reservations and Pueblos; and the State's legislative attempts to make similar jurisdicational expansions a part of federal law – so far a losing campaign.

They are also supporting the efforts of the State to wrest away from Indians the control of water originating on the Mescalero Apache Reservation in southern New Mexico. The State wants the water to continue

(Continued on next page)

flowing down its original course instead of being diverted out of that court and into a reservoir. The environmentalist do not want the reservoir construced because it will be part of a resort hotel the Mescaleros are building on the reservation. So far this case has been dismissed by a state district court judge for lack of jurisdiction, but that decision is now before the New Mexico State Supreme Court. The suit over Mescalero water is called tentatively *New Mexico v U.S.*

Aamodt was called that once.

The twists and turns that brought *Aamodt* to its present state read like the fantasies that produce bad gothic novels. And the case has generated a respons that reads like a list of reviews that such novels deserve.

Note first that the U.S. Department of Justice has been working on the case since 1968.

It was not long after Payne's decision that the BIA made $75,000 available for a thorough review of the case. Three private New Mexico attorneys were to look at the legal matters, and a private engineering firm was to study the extend to which the BIA's Albuquerque Area Office had put together all the technical hydrological, agricultural, and economic data that is required before a court can apportion water rights.

The study was completed in late February, and it was to have been highly confidential. Only the four pueblos, their attorneys, and a few in the BIA and Justice were to have seen it. But within two hours after the Senate subcommittee upheld the confidentiality of the study, *Race Relations Reporter* was able to obtain copies from two different sources. "They're going like hotcakes," one source said.

The report said the Justice Department's case for the Pueblos is almost a cinch to lose for the Indians their expanding prior and paramount, immemorial water rights, which the *Winters Doctrine* says they should have to use on their own terms. Which means that the state, rhetorically the Pueblo's co-plaintiff and ally, will win for them rights to their present meager water usage under the control of the State Engineer.

In submitting the final report, the three attorneys wrote: "Our conclusions at this date are that the Government's case is not prepared for trial, and that if the preparations proceed without change, there is a serious possibility that the case will be lost. . . The Government's case suffers from confusion about the goals of the case, from a lack of understanding of what 'winning' the case must entail. . . The sources of federal law which define the water rights of the pueblos are not difficult to ascertain, but they have not yet been adequately explored and worked up in memoranda or briefs."

During the first week in April, a hearing was held in U.S. District Court in Albuquerque in which the four pueblos — San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, and Pojoaque — requested that the case not go to trial on April 16, but be given a six-month extension and also, that the three attorneys who prepared the study be allowed into the case.

"It was a farce of a hearing," commented one observer, who said that thethree attorneys — William Schaab, Philip Ashby, and John Donnell — suppressed their own report in the hearing and argued for the extension only on the grounds that more time was needed to compile further technical hydrological evidence.

Next, the source said, the local U.S. Attorney, Jim Grant, told the court that the complexion of the Government's case on behalf of the Pueblos was not going to change.

"When he heard that," the observer said, "the New Mexico state attorney, Paul Bloom, just smiled and got up and beat them to death with it. The special master [the official hearing the case] had no choice but to rule against the extension."

A Chickasaw lawyer, Charles Tate, who helped put together a last-minute attempt to wrest *Aamodt* off its present course, said the Justice Department's refusal to change that course of action was ". . . unbelievable and disgusting. Legally, it's a bad case and politically, it is a crooked case."

ARE INDIANS ONCE AGAIN EXPECTED TO SHARE? THIS TIME ITS WATER THEY WANT

Colville Nation — The Colville people in north-central Washington State risk de facto termination because the state and federal governments are allowing the theft of its water. Mel Tonasket, tribal council chairman, told an American Water Resources Conference in Seattle, "I'm beginning to think there isn't a lot of conscience in this country."

Tonasket pointed out that the act which created the Grand Coulee Dam, which the Interior Department has said was built on an Indian riverbed, guaranteed that Colville lands were to be reclaimed by the dam.

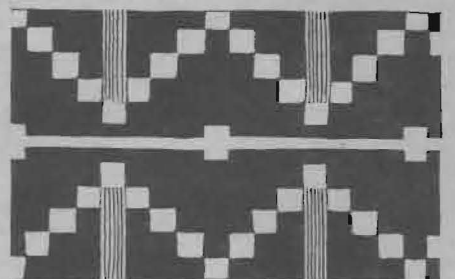
"But not one drop of water has been used to reclaim Colville land, so don't tell me about law," Tonasket said. He said Washington state has issued 120 water permits to non-Indians for use of water arising from Indian ground within the reservation.

C.R. Neely, an Interior Department solicitor, says this is illegal and fraudulent — but it still goes on.

The Colvilles haven't been the only people in the area interferred with when it comes to dams. The native people along the Columbia River were flooded out when the Dulles Dam was built, and were given "in lieu sites" for homes. Now the Army Corps of Engineers plans to heighten dams in the area — and will flood them out of these homesites too.

Then there are the Wanapum people, flooded out by the Priest Rapid Dam on the Columbia. They had never treatied with the U.S., and so had never received compensation for their lost lands. Their horses were needlessly slaughtered during the last Indian wars in the area, even though the Wanapum people were not at all involved in the fighting. Their troubles continued — they were evicted from their centuries-old homesite when the dam was built, and after several moves, they ended up in deserted homes belonging to a utility company — and are now being evicted from them. There are only about 30 Wanapums left now.

Washington State participated in one of the landmark cases on Indian water rights, *U.S. v. Ahtanum*, which was in the U.S. district, appeals, and Supreme Court from 1955 to 1965, and is a veritable encyclopedia of favorable findings regarding the extent and nature of Indian water rights. But this experience had no effect whatever on the state continuing to issue water rights and licenses which hurt existing Indian rights. In fact, rather than slowing down the process, it was accelerated and stream after stream on Indian reservations were over-appropriated by non-Indians. Even to this day, the State has never felt it necessary to give any notice to the tribe involved that it is processing an application for a water right to a non-Indian on a stream to which the native people have obvious rights.



The Executive Order of 1881 which formed the Spokane Reservation and recognized the Spokane water rights, specifically providing that the boundaries would be down the outside banks of the Chamokane Creek, the Spokane River, and the Columbia River, carefully including the bed and banks of those waters within the reservation.

But then, in the 1906-08 era, the Department of Interior sold the Little Falls Dam site to the Washington Water Power Company for a total payment for overflowed lands of less than $1200 with nothing paid for the dam site itself, indisputably owned by the native people.

The Colvilles lost 25 miles of Spokane River bed and about 10 miles of Columbia River bed. It received nothing for the taking of Kettle Falls, a prime fishing site, or for rising and falling shorelines of the reservoir, and to add insult to injury, the Colvilles were the last to receive electricity from the dam.

(Thanks to Rawhide Press, Ruby Parks, and Associated Press)

"I'M BEGINNING TO THINK THERE ISN'T A LOT OF CONSCIENCE IN U.S." — NATIVE PEOPLE FIND WATER RIGHTS A GREAT THING. . . .ON PAPER

(This editorial about "Water Rights on Reservations," appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune on May 14, 1974. We are pleased to reprint it here as an introduction to this important article on a little-understood crisis.)

Many school children have learned from romantic classroom lectures that tribal people on this continent not only shared their lands and resources with white settlers, but taught the first settlers how to grow corn and other foods.

The one-sided myth of sharing is in sharp contrast to the grim facts that tribal people were forced to live on desolate reservations as colonial subjects under arbitrary governmental authority.

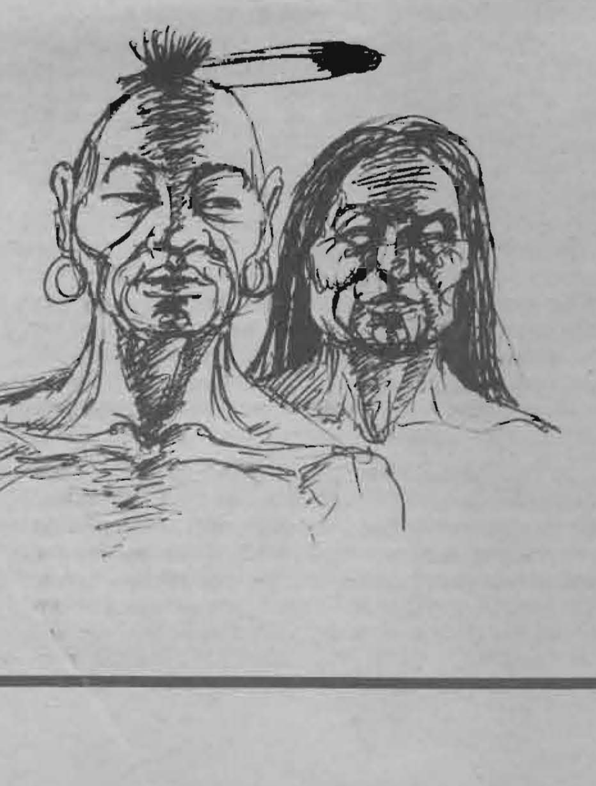
The assumption of educators seems to have been that children are better prepared for the future if they are denied the realities of malignant violence and the knowledge of the systematic oppression of tribal people. But ignorance and benign beliefs fostered in classrooms may have made it possible for the government and private industry to continue the exploitation of tribal lands and resources, which according to hundreds of treaties should be protected as sovereign rights.

Precious water, along with the myth of sharing, is flowing from several reservations to the toilets and fountains of Albuquerque and Los Angeles and Salt Lake City and other great western cities. The water from reservations flows because treaty rights have been ignored.

Several courts have ruled that reservation water rights are inherent and protected by treaties, but few federal agencies have advocated the protection of those rights. Steve Nickeson, writing for the Race Relations Reporter, *said that tribal people have lacked "a sophisticated knowledge of their rights and how to get them." As a result, water from many reservations has been diverted to urban centers or sold to private industry. As the water flows away, some reservations are becoming even more desolate.*

The protection of reservation water rights may soon become a problem in Minnesota if pollution continues. If more lakes in the state become unsafe as a source of drinking water, some communities may drill wells near reservations which could lower the water table on tribal land. This, along with water-diversion projects and irrigation systems, could be interpreted as a violation of water rights protected by treaties.

The realities of pollution around reservations do not justify the continual exploitation of tribal resources. We hope the issue of reservation water rights will not be distorted now or in the future by the one-sided myth of sharing with the dominant society. Tribal people may choose to sell their water in the future. Selling may not be a tribal custom, but it could be a modern act of survival.



RETURN OF THE BUFFALO

Muskegon, Michigan — Dr. Dwain Cummings, a surgeon known as the "buffalo doctor" thinks it is time that the U.S. and Canadian Governments give some buffalo back to the Indians.

"We've been working on the idea of getting the Federal Governments to supply Indians with the 1,000 or so surplus buffaloes in national parks," he said.

Cummings has a vested interest in both buffaloes and native people. He is of Lakota heritage, and is now free on a personal recognizance bond after being indicted on a charge of interfering with federal officers because he helped airdrop food and medicine to the Oglalas during the 73-day occupation of Wounded Knee last year. And he has a herd of about 30 buffalo on his farm near Stanwood, Michigan.

Cummings said buffalo would be an excellent source of protein for reservations where there is much malnutrition. "Little children still suffer from lack of protein in their diet, and the average life expectancy of an Indian is 40 years," he said.

The buffalo have a unique protein in their muscle. The meat is higher in essential amino acids, and lower in cholesterol and saturated fatty acids."

He said in the last ten years, the government had learned how to breed buffalo, so the herds are growing. "We do have a surplus, and the Indians should get it," he insists. Two years ago, he gave 13 buffalo to the Anishnawbeg at the L'Anse Reservation in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

Chief Fred Dakota said Indians and buffalo "sort of go together." He added, "We've both been in the same extermination program."

Cummings is particularly interested in crosses between buffalo and Holstein cows.

"These cross-breeds are very interesting because the offspring are bigger than either parent. They grow rapidly without hormonal stimulation, and when they get to be about four years old, they can weigh 3600 pounds." That's double the weight for a cow, and about 1600 pounds more than a buffalo.

Such cross-breeding is difficult, however. There is an enormous loss of offspring in abortions and stillbirths. Hybrid males who survive are almost always sterile. The Canadian Government spent 40 years in a cross-breeding program and then abandoned it, announcing that hybridizations were biologically feasible but economically undesirable.

The National Buffalo Association has for some years advocated the gift of surplus buffalo to Indians. "It would help, to some small degree, to return to the Indian people what statesmen, frontiersmen, and soldiers took away from them — their livelihood."

Before the Europeans hit North America, there were tens of millions of buffalo. They provided food, shelter, medicine, and supplies to thousands of native people. But then, of course, no one "owned" them, and they didn't make anyone any money.

However, the NBA said in an editorial in its magazine, "Indians of the 1800s witnessed the thoughtless slaughter of their buffalo by hunters and soldiers, one for material gain and adventure, the other in an attempt to end the Indian War by starving the Indians into submission."

The NBA says if the Interior Department would carry out the proposal, new herds could spring up on reservations. The gift would provide a budding industry, as well as a constant food supply — and according to Roy Houck, a rancher, it would take the Government out of competition with private enterprise. The Interior Department now sells the animals it controls.

It is estimated there were 60 million buffalo in America when Columbus got here, and that by 1850, there were at least 20 million still alive and free. But by 1889, the total number of bulls, cows, and calves in the U.S. was counted at 551. At Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, home for the last free-roaming herd in the U.S., only 22 buffalo were found in a census taken in 1900.

The buffalo would have been entirely killed had it not been for the Goodnight herd of Texas, the Pablo-Allard herd of Montana, and the Blue Mountain Forest Association herd of New Hampshire, which became the primary sources of stock for the present day herds. Some herds in the U.S. and Canada are descended from four calves that were saved by Pend'Oreille Indians from slaughter in 1873. The Indians had travelled from the Flathead Valley in what is now westernmost Montana to the plains east of the Rockies for their meat supply. One of them, Walking Coyote, brought back the four animals.

There are four buffalo refuges in the U.S. These are operated by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Interior at Wichita Mountain (Oklahoma), the National Bison Range (Montana), Fort Niobra (Nebraska) and Sully Hill National Game Preserve (North Dakota). There are also buffalo herds in South Dakota's Custer State Park, the Black Hills, and a number of other national parks.

There are private herds like that of Roy Houck, at Pierre, South Dakota, whose Triple U Ranch has more than 3500 head. Richard Flocchini, part-owner of Durham Ranches, has a 50,000-acre ranch south of Gilletee, Wyoming, with 3,000 head, which are marketed largely to gourmet restaurants. They say that it costs more to get started in raising buffalo, but once you're established, it costs less to keep going.

The buffalo is an efficient food converter, better than beef animals and gaining weight more rapidly. They are a much more rugged animal, suited to the harsh winters of the Northern Plains. Veterinary costs are virtually nil.

The only other large herd is that of Dan Hight, who has about 2,000 head on his 35,000-acre ranch just south of Murdo, South Dakota.

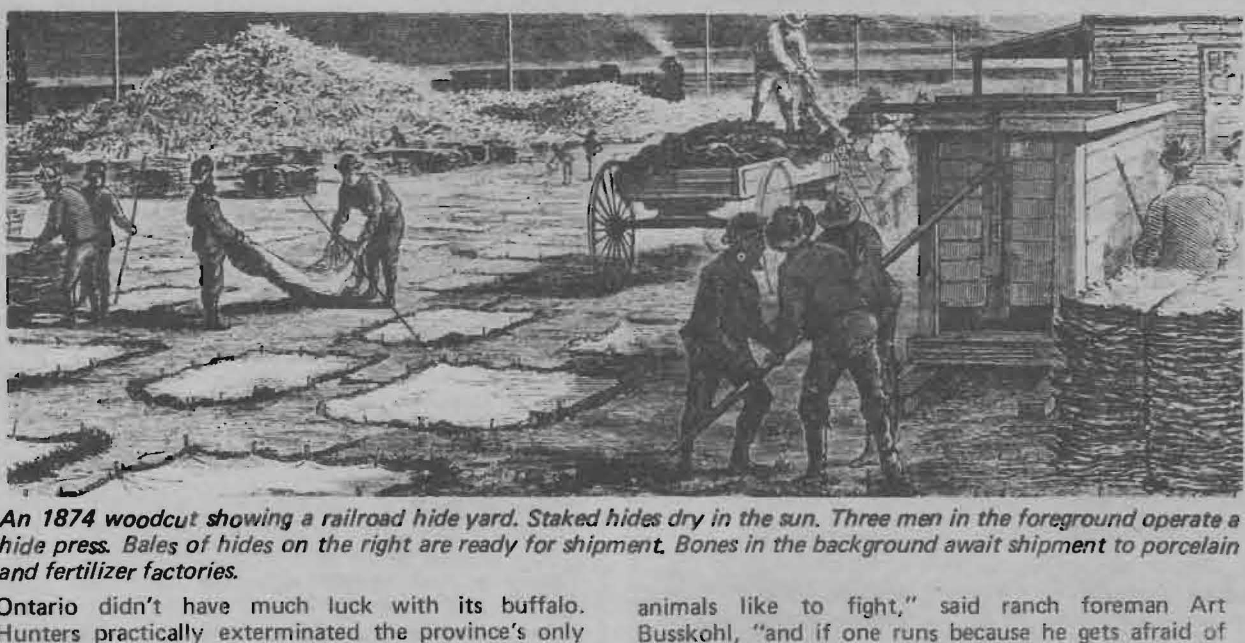
Houck, who runs his ranch with the help of his two sons, is constructing his own slaughterhouse. "For us, it's been a very profitable venture," he said. "The return is about 25% higher than cattle. You have a higher investment in stronger fences and corrals, but you have quite a saving on labor and feed once you're established.

The National Buffalo Association says its records now show 15,000 bison belong to members in 39 states, another 5,000 or so are owned by other individuals and zoos, and about 5,000 are in the federal refuges. That's for the U.S. alone.

In 1893, buffalo in Canada were placed under the protection of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. In 1922, Wood Buffalo National Park — a 17,300-square-mile tract — was established in Alberta and Northwest Territories just south of Great Slave Lake. Today a herd of some 15,000 buffalo ranges in the park's grassy plains, boreal forest, and muskeg.

The Blackfoot Reserve at Cluny, Alberta, 60 miles east of Calgary, has a small herd of 30 buffalo. Six years ago, three bulls and 22 cows from Elk Island preserve were donated to the reserve by the Canadian Government. The herd grew to 73, but because of a land shortage, 43 were sold to individuals at $300 a head. The Elk Island park herd is sold when its herd increases beyond 400. In 1971, 25 animals were sold for $8,800 at an auction to L.A. Kiss of Anchor K Farms in Alberta

Ontario didn't have much luck with its buffalo. Hunters practically exterminated the province's only herd. Thirty animals were imported from Alberta in the early 1930s, and they increased to about 100 by 1950. But now the herd is down to four or five — some say only one is left. Any survivors roam the banks of the French River near Georgian Bay and are unprotected by law.



An 1874 woodcut showing a railroad hide yard. Staked hides dry in the sun. Three men in the foreground operate a hide press. Bales of hides on the right are ready for shipment. Bones in the background await shipment to porcelain and fertilizer factories.

Smaller groups of buffalo are protected in the Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming; Wind Cave National Park in the South Dakota Black Hills; Platt National Park in Oklahoma, and Colorado National Monument Colorado.

The largest buffalo preserve is Custer State Park, a 112-square-mile area in South Dakota. The Custer herd, which originated with 25 head in 1914, is maintained at a population of some 1500. "Hunts" are conducted each fall to keep the population at a constant level. Some animals are sold live.

The Arizona Game and Fish Department maintains two buffalo ranges, where sportsmen shoot the helpless surplus animals each October. Hunting licenses are awarded through a special drawing. Occasional hunts have also been held in the Bi Delta country of Alaska, where introduced animals have easily adapted to the severe environment.

Some Arizona residents have protested the "hunts". The surplus buffalo, about 25 each day, are released from a pen onto a 640-acre pasture where the shooters wait. "Sometimes they sit and look at you," said Wes Keyes, an information officer for the states. A license costs $45, and each hunter gets his buffalo. "Conservation" officials say the shoot is needed to cull the herd to about 250 at the state-owned Raymond Ranch. The state also owns a herd at Houserock, north of the eastern end of the Grand Canyon.

New Mexico had a buffalo project, but "anti-hunter sentiment and public resentment" of hunters coming in and slaughtering the animals for "sport" caused the state to reduce the herd from 140 to a token herd of about 35 at the Fort Wingate Reservation. Those will be kept for "viewing purposes" on the U.S. Army installation.

About 185 buffalo are currently to be found in Illinois, mostly in small privately owned herds and zoos.

A young bull brings around $500.

Buffalo cows normally mate when they are two years old, and bear their first calves usually singly, at the age of three. Cows may still be bearing well-developed calves at the age of 25 or more. The breeding season normally occurs in July or August, and calves are born the following April, May or June, weighing about 30 to 70 pounds each.

There is a distinction between the "wood buffalo" and the "plains buffalo". The latter is somewhat smaller, and the head is held at a lower angle.

One of the big advantages of raising bison over cattle is their durability in poor weather, says Jack Errington, manager of the Durham Company.

"In winter, they'll forage for themselves — you don't have to baby them," he says.

But the self-managing virtues of buffalo also have a negative side when it comes to "raising" them. "The animals like to fight," said ranch foreman Art Busskohl, "and if one runs because he gets afraid of something, the others may follow in a stampede."

Ben Franke, who manages a Michigan herd, says raising the buffalo is comparatively simple since "you can't do anything with them at all. They've just got to be on their own."

BE PUNCTUAL AND HATE YOURSELF: INDIAN EDUCATION, BIA-STYLE

Ramah, New Mexico – Not too long ago, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent some materials for use in Indian schools – educational resources, they called them. The materials and ideas arose from a Teacher-Aide Workshop held at a BIA boarding school.

Perhaps as poetry, this gem was suggested for classroom use:

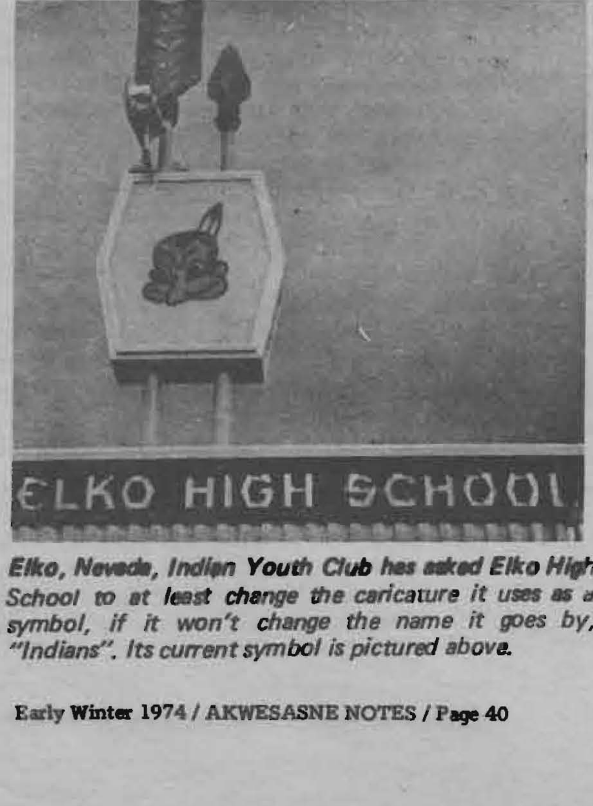
Ten little Indians standing in a row (10 fingers held up)
They all bow down to their chief just so (10 fingers bend down)
They march to the left (move both hands to the right with fingers held up)
This march to the right (move both hands to the right with fingers held up)
This is the way they learn to fight (tap finger tips together)
Along comes a cowboy with a great big gun (index finger points)
Boom, boom, boom, and away they all run. (index finger shoots, then fingers run away.)

I'm Dick. I'm Jane. Paint me Indian-brown.

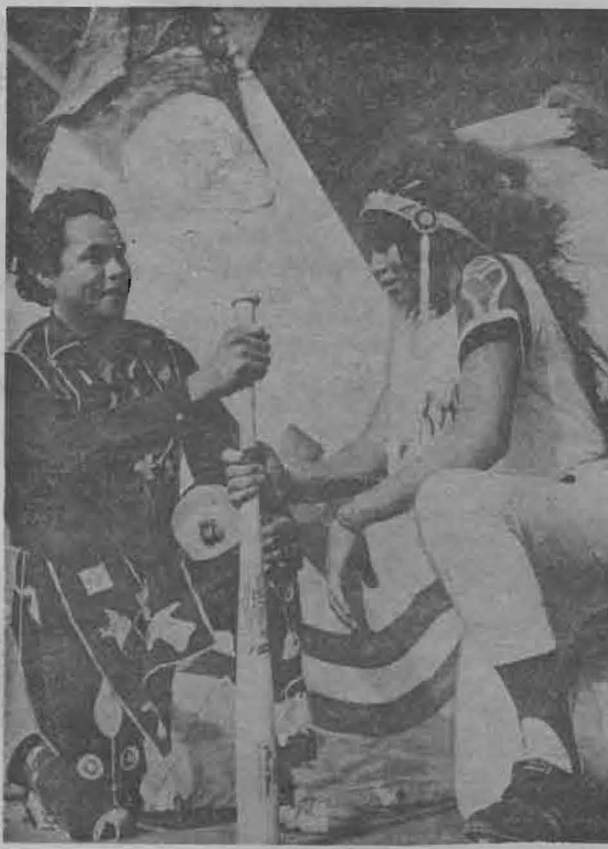
Or, if you would prefer a lesson that inculcates values:

This is what the clock says
Tick, took, tick, took
This is what the clock says
Tick, took, tick, took
This is what the clock says
Tick, Took, Tick, took
Come to school at half past
Eight o'clock.

The material was issued with the imprimatur of Mrs. Louise S. Bonnell, director of theworkshop;rs. Faralie S. Spell, chief of the branch of curriculu and instruction; Mr. Abraham I. Tucker, deputy assistant area director for education; Dr. William J. Benham, assistant area director for education, and Graham Holmes, then Navajo area director for the BIA.



Elko, Nevada, Indian Youth Club has asked Elko High School to at least change the caricature it uses as a symbol, if it won't change the name it goes by, "Indians". Its current symbol is pictured above.



*Billy Jumper (right), a **Cherokee bat boy for the** Atlanta Braves, chats with Atlanta's mascot, Chief Noc-a-homa.*

In July, Atlanta Braves star outfielder Hank Aaron agreed to head a commission on racism in sports for Operation Push headed by Chicago activist Rev. Jesse L. Jackson. By that it is apparently meant that he will seek equality for minority peoples in employment and opportunity in the sports industry. But racism goes deeper than that: the Atlanta "Braves" have their clownish mascot, "Chief Nokahoma" (get it? Knock-a-Homer?), who emerges from his tipi in the outfield to do a war dance during Atlanta rallies. A lot of people think it's cute – but if another stereotype closer to Aaron, who is black, were used, he might work to change it. How about calling the team the Atlanta Slaves, and when a home run is hit, Uncle Tom Homerhitter will shuffle out to the mound dressed in bib overalls, eating watermelon, and will do a little tapdance to the tune of "Mammy." That, of course, would be considered racist – so what about Nockahoma?

. . . . . . and more racism

Washington, D.C. – In 1974, the U.S. Senate again failed to ratify the 1948 United Nations agreement outlawing genocide when a filibuster against the agreement was conducted by a group of Southern Senators.

President Harry Truman submitted the agreement to the Senate in 1951, but the U.S. won't agree to any declaration of genocide as an "international crime."

The agreement would prevent and punish action intended to destroy all or part of an ethnic, national, or religious group.

* * *

According to a New Hampshire legend, Hannah Duston was a white woman who 250 years ago was kidnapped by a group of twelve Indians. She showed her pioneer get-up-and-go by killing ten of them in their sleep to make her escape, and later collected a little pocket money from bounties on their scalps. A statue of her was erected by the State of New Hampshire on the island of Contoocook, where the slayings took place, and last June, the state held a centennial observance for the erection of the statue. The Union of Vermont/New Hampshire Indians, an organization of about 130 members formed this year, has taken as its first cause the re-education of New Hampshire's citizens about their pioneer heroine, and recently conducted demonstrations against the monument.

* * *

Native students at the University of North Dakota haven't been happy with Grand Fork's Central High School's racist activities during the last school year. Central High's athletic teams are nicknamed "Redskins," and activities during homecoming include "Indian Raids," a contest to pick "Sally Squaw and Wally Warrior," with judges looking for which student was dressed most like an Indian, a la Hollywood. Mock Indian symbols adorn the halls. While some school officials were sympathetic to written complaints, the school board talbed a decision on the matter for further study.

BRITISH JOURNALIST KEEPING STIFF UPPER LIP ON THE SAVAGES

London, England – Racism against native people continues in England, too, if a recent column by Robert Conquest in the *London Daily Telegraph* is any example.

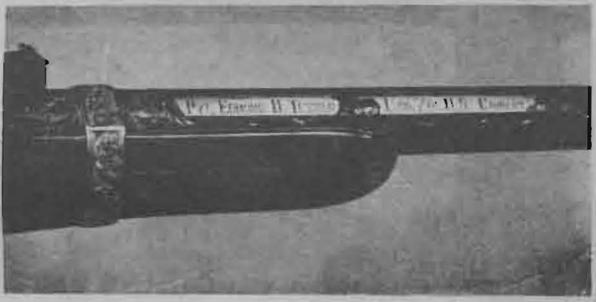
"Looking at the past history of Indian-white relations, one's sympathies naturally rest with the small and backward people. The Indians, as the losers, were severely oppressed . . . but it is also true that they massacred the whites a good deal. The Indians moreover had the quaint old folk practice of torturing their prisoners to death in ceremonies much enjoyed by man, woman, and child of the tribes concerned."

Conquest (yes, that's his name) has a view of history apparently that overlooks such things as the Roman Coliseums or the Spanish Inquisition.

"200 years of genocide have now brought the Cherokee population from 2,000 to 50,000. . . One of the few instances of genocide was that committed against the Hurons. But it was the Iroquois rather than the White Man who did it," Conquest insists. "No! The Anglo-Saxon is no worse than anyone else – more successful, that's all," he concludes.

By the way – how's the Empire doing these days?

If you have $2000 you can obtain one of 268 carbines in the "Custer Memorial Collection" – the exact number of Seventh Cavalry who died at "Custer's Last Stand." Each arm is engraved with the name of the cavalry "victim", the advertising says. Took five years of research and planning, too. Surely every loyal Lakotah will want one: just send your check for $2000 to the Custer Memorial Collection, 1041 S. Oakwood Avenue, Geneseo, Illinois 61254. Help America perpetuate its most cherished myths.



* * *

Chicago native people demonstrated recently against the Chicago Historical Society exhibits in Lincoln Park which imply Indians are savages. Removal of the display was demanded, including a large bronze statue, which, according to Thomas Watson, assistant director of the Society, shows a "friendly Indian," Black Partridge, trying to shield a white woman from the tomahawk of a "hostile savage." The statue was commissioned in 1839 to commemorate the 1812 Battle of Fort Dearborn. Demonstrators left food and tobacco and a note saying the offerings symbolized "an aspect of red-white relationships which the Historical Society has failed to record. In the spirit of brotherhood we have spoken."

* * *

Every telephone book in northern Italy has an advertisement selling furniture, all about arm-chairs with red covers – "Redskins" – even wearing a feather in its design. The furniture is made by Rossi, which in English means "red", so this makes the big joke. The manufacturer claims that the identification of his merchandise with American Indians has caused Italians to buy more. Can anyone explain why? Perhaps it has to do with an Italian dime-novelist, Emilio Salgari, who wrote three cowboys-and-Indians novels at the beginning of this century, without ever having visited the United States. His Indians are tall, strong-bodied blood-thirsty guys whose main concern in life is to pursue, kill, and scalp white men. His books sold very, very well, instructing generations of Italians on native American life.

* * *

Would you believe that every year, Boy Scouts dress up like Indians at Camp Big Timber near Elgin, Illinois, and re-enact the "Song of Hiawatha" in pageantry. Would you believe that people travel from all parts of the country to see them do it? Would you believe that the profits go, in part, to support missionaries who go to tell the Indians they should stop dressing up like Indians? "Down the rivers, o'er the prairies, came the warriors of the nation. . ."

* * *

"If Huffman Can't Sell It, Give It Back to the Indians," reads the sign under the picture of an Indian brave. There's lots of the signs, one in front of every property being sold by George P. Huffman, Inc., of Dayton, Ohio. Steal it, use it, and when it's no good, "Give It Back to the Indians." Right, George?

TIDBITS

(Space in this newspaper is too precious to sell and so we don't carry advertisements. But we are always glad to publish information of interest to native people. Readers have asked us to insert these "tidbits".)

A ten-month internship program for three native persons from New England will begin soon at the Children's Museum, Jamaicaway, Boston, Massachusetts 02130. Experience will be gained in developing educational exhibits, materials and programs, as well as the museum getting input on the content of its own projects. Contact Joan Lester at above address, or call (617) 522-4800.

■

The newly-organized Southern Ute Performing Arts Company is ready for public performances on the reservation. The plays are Indian, using local people under the direction of Jay Gurian. Tourists in the San Juan Basin are invited to the summer session performances at the Southern Ute Community Center.

□

University of Montana's Native American Studies Department is looking for a field specialist director to work toward desegregation of public schools and to administer a General Assistance Associate Center. A M.A. in education is preferred. Guidance counsellors and field workers are also needed. Contact Personnel Office, 104 Main Hall, U of M, Missoula, Montana 59801.

■

The Canadian Association in Support of The Native Peoples is seeking more members. Formerly the Indian-Eskimo Association, the organization is now geared primarily to concentrate the efforts of non-native individuals in support of native causes. Contact: CASNP, 1207 St. Andre St., Suite 205, Montreal, Quebec. Ask for Janet Diabo or call (514) 849-7475.

□

The Sixth Annual Contest for Children's Book Manuscripts by native unpublished writers will end December 31, 1974. There are five prizes of $500 each – one for American Indian, and others for African-American, Asian-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican. Object of the contest is to bring out more new books that deal positively with the roles of Third World peoples and women in today's society. For contest rules write: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.

■

Northern California Indian Education Project, 526 A St., Eureka, California 95501 is seeking a project director to administer an established program in a huge and beautiful area. Needed immediately. Telephone (707) 443-4858.

□

Recently, Indian students at Harvard-Radcliffe established "American Indians at Harvard" (AIH), with the goal of recruiting more native people to that school, and to provide an atmosphere of political, social, and cultural awareness. Persons interested in attending Harvard should contact Jimmy Sam, c/o Nancy Moore, Harvard-Radcliffe Student Employment Office, Byerly Hall, Garden Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

■

University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) is seeking native students in a special Academic Advancement Program offering financial aid, counseling, and tutorial services. Out-of-state tuition is waived for Indian students. For further information contact Ethan Allen Big Pond, Campus Office of Relations with Schools, A311 Murphy Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, California or call (213) 825-0811.

□

Faculty to teach Native American Studies courses are wanted by Grossmont College, 8800 Grossmont College Drive, El Cajon, California 92020.

Teacher/Project Director needed by Fort Mohave Education Committee, PO Box 798, Needles, California 92363. Improved reading ability of K-8 students will be area of concentration in Needles public schools & on reservation.

■

We should have told you long ago about Dine Bizaad Nanil'iih/Navajo Language Review, edited by Paul R. Platero at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 20E-225, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 as an independent forum on Navajo language scholarship. Linguistics – plus all aspects of the language are welcome, but it is a specialty journal for serious students.

□

The Scottsdale National Indian Arts Exhibition will be held at the Safari Convention Center, Scottsdale, Arizona, from March 12-15, 1975. A new classification, Drama, has been added this year. Rules for the exhibition are complex, though – write for a copy before making plans. Contact: 7329 Stetson Drive E., Scottsdale, Arizona.

■

The Native American Program at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, Box 4348, Chicago, Illinois 60680 is seeking a new director by December15 to start in February. Contact: James Kayotawape (312) 996-4515.

□

The Native Communications Society of the Northwest Territories, Box 1992, Yellowknife, NWT is looking for an executive director. This native-run government-supported society is aimed at meeting the modern communication needs of northern natives through radio, videotape, and the fine newspaper, The Native Press. Contact: Ted Blondin, chairman of the board of directors.

■

DQ-University is still actively recruiting native students. There is an accredited two-year program in liberal arts, occupational and technical programs in agricultural sciences. The school is especially for native and Chicano communities. Contact Steve Baldy or Carlos Cordero, DQ-University, Davis, California 95616. Phone: (916) 758-0470.

The Native American Studies Program at University of California at Berkeley, 3413 Dwinelle Hall, Berkeley, California 94720, has need for faculty people from time to time. Doctorate rank is preferred. Contact: Coordinator.

■

Samuel Baker, 4 James St., Putnam Valley, N.Y. 10579, is engaged in a research project at the State University of New York at New Paltz. It deals with psychic phenomena. He wants comments about how the dead influence the living, and influences felt by people who live on or near holy land. "Compensation will be provided."

□

Native college graduates who want to get into the sociology business can get financial educational aid. Twenty fellowships are to be awarded to attend the university of their choice. Deadline: January 10, 1975. Contact: American Sociological Association, 1722 N St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

■

Ahbenoojeyug, Inc., 315 Dundas Street E., Toronto, Ontario, is looking for a program co-ordinator to schedule activities for native children. Contact Lila Brown immediately at (416) 364-8775

□

Some really nice booklets on creative writing by native students have been produced by James L. White, resident poet, working with St. Paul Council of Arts and Sciences, 30 East 10th St., St. Paul, Minnesota 55101. Contact Molly LaBerge, director of the program, for a free copy and information about what poets can do to help native children express their feelings and thoughts.

■

Native (and minority) housing contractors, real estate appraisers, architects, engineers, lawyers, housing managers, real estate salesmen, urban planners, etc. are listed in a directory put out by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Persons who want to be listed should contact Ms. Carolyn J. Wade at Ken Guscott Associates, 4256 Prudential Tower, Boston, Massachusetts 02199 or phone (617) 267-9260.

Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI) is a BIA-operated residential vocational technical school available to Indian people, generally between 16 and 26, who want to attain employable skills in one of fourteen different career fields. Students should either be high school graduates, or out of school for over one year. Contact: Admissions Office, SIPI, POBox 10146, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87114. Telephone Dollie Watson (505) 766-3189.

■

Charging that the Library of Congress and Dewey Decimal classification systems for library materials do not do justice to Native American and Spanish-speaking peoples, Douglas Philbrick has developed a better system. For further information, contact him at DQ-University Library, Box 409, Davis, California 95414.

□

A Satellite Community College (Northeast Technical Community College), PO Box 37, Winnebago, Nebraska 68071, is seeking a coordinator for its ethnic studies program, as well as a math/science instructor and office manager. Contact: Louis LaRose, Director, at (402) 878-2414.

■

A top-notch hour-long film on the Shoshone Nation's fight for their land, for recognition, and to stop the horrendous chaining of the pinon trees will be shown at the Whitney Museum January 15-21. Made by Joel Friedman, the film tells the story related in the last issue of NOTES. The terror of the chaining of large areas of land is so well shown that the film could be rated "X". New Yorkers shouldn't miss it.Other screenings will be done in theatres in major American cities.

□

A teacher-training program which is described as "one of the best in North America" will be instituted by the University of British Columbia this fall with an initial enrollment of 60 persons. Students will take two years at off-campus centres, eventually moving to the University to complete their studies. High school graduates and mature non-graduates are eligible to apply. For further information contact: Dr. Art More, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver 8, B.C.

■

Roland Coulon, a displaced Mohawk now teaching in North Carolina, has won district recognition and is under consideration for Best Teacher of the Year award in the state.

□

The University of Arizona is graduating native people with Master of Library Science degrees. They are especially trained to establish and administer informational/cultural centers sensitive to the needs and values of native groups. Agencies wishing to employ such people should contact: Margaret Holleman, College of Education, Graduate Library School, U of A, Tucson, Arizona 85721 or telephone (602) 884-3559.

■

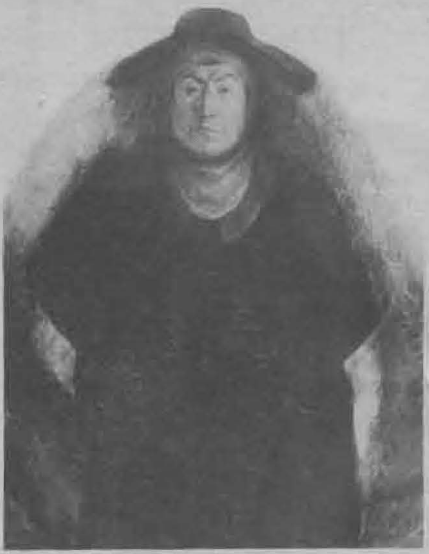
Mrs. Francis Jaske, 19480 Royalton Road, Strongsville, Ohio 44136 needs addresses of native people in Oklahoma, South Dakota, and North Dakota to act as receivers and distribution centers for clean, mended, and usable clothes for their people. The clothing is collected in the Cleveland area and shipped by UPS, with all charges paid.

□

San Diego State University, 5402 College, San Diego, California 92116, wants junior, senior, and graduate native students who want to teach native children. Program combines classroom work with intern teaching in area schools.

The Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts, 30 Bloor St., W., †400, Toronto, Ontario M4W 1A2, is looking for talent. Pick a one-act play, form a company, start rehearsing, and aim to be ready in March, 1975.

◆



—painting by Ann Leggett

An exhibition commemorating the 500th anniversary of the birth of Bartolome de Las Casas has been arranged by Alfred Bush at Princeton University's library. de Las Casas dramatized the plight of native American peoples in his 16th-century writings as a a missionary-colonist.

◆

The Second Annual Ojibwe Art Expo '75 will be held April 12 to May 11 at Bemidji State College. Entries of all original types of art or crafts will be accepted. Deadline for receiving, though, is March 15th. Contact the Expo c/o the Indian Studies Program, BSC, Bemidji, Minnesota 56601 or call (218) 755-3977.

◆

The Institute of American Indian Art is now accepting applications for the second semester beginning January 6. This national school for native youths in grades 11 and 12 or junior college offers an accredited program in academic subjects plus varied arts: painting, pottery, ceramic, sculpture, creative writing, graphics, photography, and many more. Contact: Registrar, IAIA, Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501.

◆

The Association of American Indian Physicians is seeking an executive director to administer programs and plan activities in the field of Indian health. Master's degree in a medically-associated field required. Contact: Personnel Committee, AAIP, 1300 McGee †103, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

◆

Contributions for a collection of native writing, entitled, "Growing Up Indian," are being sought. For further information, contact Linda Lewin, 1202 Lincoln Dr., W., Ambler, Pa. 19002.

◆

The Center for the History of the American Indian, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610, will offer several fellowships (both postdoctoral and doctoral) to work in the history of Indian-White relations. Director's fellowships are available in unusual cases. The deadline for filing applications is January 15. Contact Robert Bieder, (312) 943-9090.

◆

The Ford Foundation's Graduate Fellowships for Native Americans, c/o Educational Testing Service, Box 200, Berkeley, California 94704, is accepting applications. Deadline: January 5, 1975. The program is aimed at increasing the number of doctorates among minority peoples. Applicants must admit to being U.S. citizens, enrolled or planning to enter a graduate school, and interested in a career in higher education.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE

1973

Ellen Moves Camp

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE, 1973: The People Are Standing Up. Published by Akwesasne Notes. This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from 100 hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress. It is accompanied by 200 photographs, and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America.

It too is a fine gift. The price is $4.95 for the 282-page book.

You can help in the distribution of this book, your book, by asking bookstores to carry it on their shelves. Or native groups and other organizations and individuals might want to sell the book themselves. Enquire for resale discounts, and discounts for classroom use.

What The Reviewers Are Saying

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE 1973 is getting good reviews:

"...a totality of more-than-competent writing based on skillful reporting, all bolstered by fine photography. The total effect is multiple. A white tax-paying citizen of the United States is revolted by the actions of his nation as it tried to suppress the uprising that demanded only the dignity that should be accorded to everyone. Another effect is sharp focusing on the total inefficience of the established government in its effort to deal with the problem. The next time the federal government has a problem with the Indians and their aspirations for identity, a top team of negotiators, not a platoon of hacks, should be sent to the conference table. The fact of the matter is, as this book reveals, ...the Indians out-thought, out-maneuvered, and almost out-fought the white men who sought to regain the seized territory.

"...has qualities of professional excellence. It relates with passion, suspense, the narrative technique of the novel, or the better works of non-fiction, the story of an effort by humans to attain the status of human dignity. It should be supplemental reading in every classroom where history is taught. For too long, the history of the Indians has been missing from the history of the nation.

– *William Flynn,*
San Francisco Examiner

◆

"...history of the struggle for Indian treaty rights from 1868 to the present. From start to finish, this book is a tribute to native Americans, to the courageous defenders of the Independent Oglala Nation, to the Wounded Knee Information Collective that gathered the material for thebook, and to the publishers, AKWESASNE NOTES...you owe it to yourself to read it."

– Pun Plamondon
Ann Arbor Sun

"The most vivid account to date...brings into clearer perspective the events which led to the occupation and what it was really like inside the tiny village...excellent use of photographs...brings the reader as close as possible to the action and the mood of those who took part."

-- Bill Kreifel
Sunday Journal & Star
Lincoln, Nebraska

"...strongly reflects the mood and spirit of the 71-day occupation. The editors have done an excellent job of presenting a human drama of a suppressed and oppressed people getting themselves together to restore some dignity to their lives...important history not only to native peoples, but for all who care about this country.

– *Work Force*

ORDER FORM

(feel free to write your order in a letter, if you wish)

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

Date: ____________

Please send me the following:

Quantity *Item* *Price*
____ Calendar ____
____ Posters *numbers:* ____
____ Akwesasne Notes newspaper: donation: ____
Books, Albums, Tapes, Smoking Blends, etc: ____

Send these postpaid to:

Name: ____________
Address: ____________
City and state: ____________ Zip: ______

I enclose check or money order for $______ *(or purchase order)*

Overseas customers: please add 10% of your order to help with additional postage costs.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

Indigena Pamphlet Series

The Rights of Indigenous Women in Columbia
A strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s, illustrated by Miguel Sagué. This is not a dry, legal statement, but a manifesto of the women themselves – strong, stirring, and emotional. 25 cents.

The Indian Situation in Brazil Today:
a newly published pamphlet, outlining the nature of the genocidal war being waged against native people of the Amazon. Destruction of communities is documented. Reprinted from Journal do Brazil by INDIGENA and *Akwesasne Notes.* 25 cents.

A Hard Look at American Catholic Folklore: A pamphlet with two articles by Richard Lundstrom, "Mohawks, Martyrs and Myths," and "For If the Indian Peoples Die, Who Among Us Deserve to Live?" Just 25 cents for a copy of these reprints from NOTES. Church groups are buying them by the hundreds for lively discussion at 40% discount, for any large quantity.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Any More – *$1.95*
the story of the Trail of Broken Treaties group which occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington D.C. in 1972. The book also contains the Twenty Point position paper presented to the White House which would revolutionize Indian/U.S. relationships – plus the White House reply, and a rebuttal to the White House. This dialogue will be heard throughout the 1970s, and needs to be understood – and acted upon – by every American and every native person. 8½ x 11, 96 pp., paperback.

Declaration of Barbados:
This pamphlet should be discussed thoroughly by all students of anthropology – college and campus bookstores should let the anthro department know it is in your stock. Church officials – and all concerned people – will find it of interest too. It discusses the role of non-native scholars and missionaries with the native people. 25 cents.

The Great Law of Peace:
This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old – and which is still in use today. 84 pp., paperbound. $1.00. Illus.

The Migration of the Iroquois:
Pictographic writing, and text in English with some handsome drawings of Iroquois life, detailing a chapter of North American history – how the Iroquois migrated from the southwest to the northeast. 50 cents. Illus.

A Message to All People: The Hopi Prophecy:
A spiritual message as old and timeless as the land. Illustrated. A warning – with hope – of interest to all human beings. $1.00.

Posters Available From AKWESASNE NOTES

1 South America

2 Chief Joseph

3 Wounded Knee

4 Longhouse to Kiva

5 Zuni Governor

6 Sitting Bull

Temporarily Out of Stock
7 Three Sisters

8 Grandma Hunter

9 Poundmaker

10 Shackled Native

Temporarily Out of Stock
11 Family Portrait

Temporarily Out of Stock
12 Three Horsemen

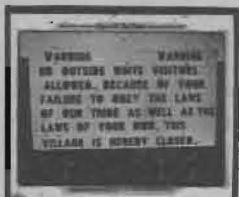
13 Fire Carrier

NORTH & SOUTH
WE ARE ONE PEOPLE!
14 La Raza

15 Dan Katchongva

16 Our Ideas

17 Statue of Liberty


WARNING WARNING
NO OUTSIDE WHITE VISITORS ALLOWED, BECAUSE OF YOUR FAILURE TO OBEY THE LAWS OF OUR TRIBE AS WELL AS THE LAWS OF YOUR OWN, THIS VILLAGE IS HEREBY CLOSED.
18 Signs of the Times

19 Flathead Chief

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there isa centerfold poster. The entire series is available as separate posters, printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each plus 25 cents for a cardboard mailing tube. We reserve the right to substitute when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows – 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for $25. Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

1975 NATIVE AMERICAN CALENDAR READY!

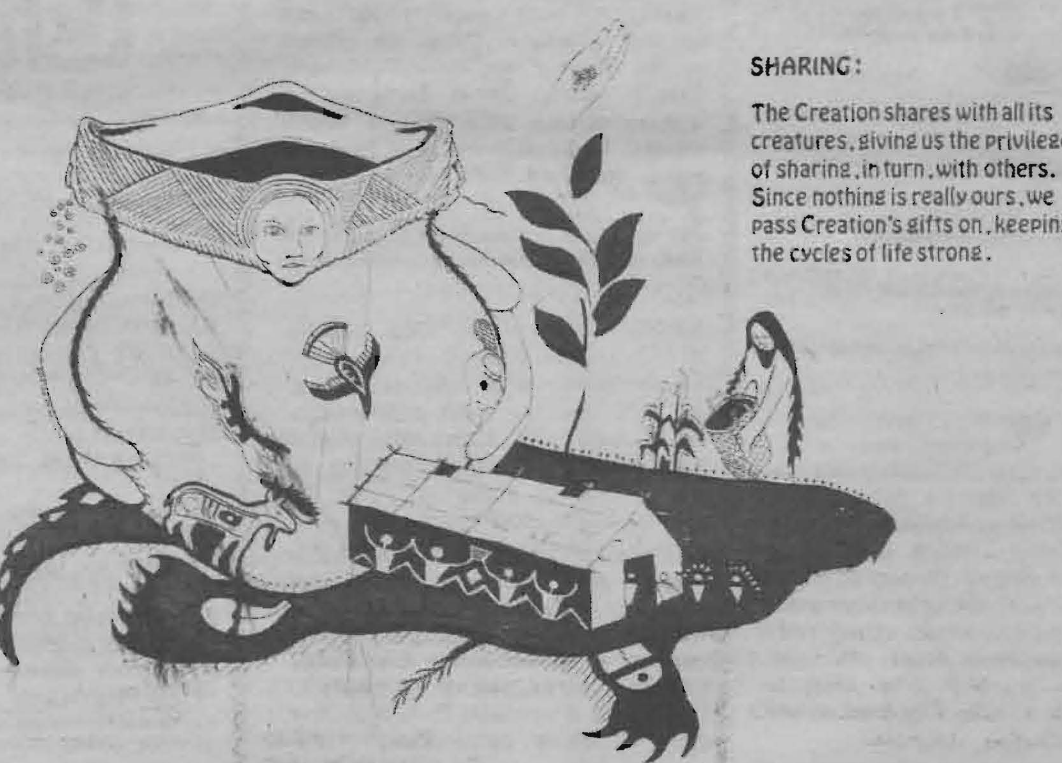
The first shipment of 12,000 calendars is already gone as people see one and want a dozen more. The second run will be ready about January 1. The theme this year is Original Instructions for Human Beings. One illustration, reduced in size, is on the right – they are about 17 x 22 inches.

The calendar includes each days' major events in the history of native peoples of North America, plus the cycles of our Grandmother, the moon, names of the month in native languages.

It is the ideal gift for mid-winter celebrations for peoples of all origins. Besides, it is an attractive and easy way to help friends come into greater harmony with historical realities. In our homes and offices, it is a means of educating ourselves on our past – and our future as human beings in this Creation.

This is the fourth year the calendar has been issued by us. Often, printing problems and our own inefficiencies have caused delays. But now we have them. Order now, first come, first serve. Because of increases in the cost of paper, the calendars are $3 each, shipped in a cardboard mailing tube.

Bookstores, Indian organizations, student groups, and individuals can order the calendar in quantity as a fund raising project. There is a 50% discount if ordered in quanties of 50 or more.



SHARING:

The Creation shares with all its creatures, giving us the privilege of sharing, in turn, with others. Since nothing is really ours, we pass Creation's gifts on, keeping the cycles of life strong.

RESOURCES

TAPES

WHITE SETTLER STATES: Ben Magobani, a black anthropologist from southern Africa, identifies the common ground of the struggle of the native peoples in all white-settler states, and instructs his fellow anthropologists on their proper role in the struggle. 15 minutes. Also: John Saul, foermerly of the University of Dar es Salaam, talks of his experience trying to make his work as a political scientist useful for FRELIMO, the Mozambique Liberation Movement. 15 minutes. Total program: 30 minutes.

JAMES BAY FORUM: A town hall meeting in Toronto in the fall of 1973 heard four speakers intimately involved with the Cree and Inuit people fighting for their survival against the James Bay Project: film-maker/author Boyce Richardson, environmentalist John Spence, economist Terry Godsoe, and Billy Diamond of Fort George. 60 minutes.

HARRY BELAFONTE: tells an AIM rally in St. Paul that his freedom depends upon the freedom of the native peoples. A men who left his career as a singer to assist electoral politics explains how Wounded Knee changed his own perspective on America. 30 minutes.

NATIVE PEOPLE'S CARAVAN & EMBASSY: If anyone still believes the myth that Canada's relationship with native people is less violent than that of other imperial nations, this program will help them to re-evaluate the armed truce. It traces the origins of the Native People's Caravan which reached Ottawa on September 30, 1974, and culminated in the first use of Canada's RCMP riot squad as well as the founding of the Native People's Embassy. 30 minutes.

A TRIBUTE TO GLADYS BISSONETTE: Mark Lane in conversation with Kanatakeniate, August 19, 1974. The Wounded Knee defense originally planned to call 300 witnesses and to have over 100 testify. Mark Lane tells how the complete testimony of this courageous woman caused the defense to rest after calling only five witnesses. 15 minutes.

GANIENKEH. On May 13, 1974, warriors, women, and children from the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake returned to their traditional hunting grounds in the Adirondack Mountains to re-establish a community and nationland. The next day, three spokesmen met with the press to explain the importance and meaning of this move for all traditional native peoples. 45 minutes.

* * *

ANIK ALTERNATIVE: You can continue the domination of the people simply by giving them infantile activities to occupy them." No one ever asked the Inuit and Indian people of the North if they wanted to see Hollywood soap operas with a $90-million satellite put up in 1973 named "Anik," an Inuit word for brother. It carries anything northward, little southward, and nothing between isolate points in the Arctic. Almost half this program examines alternatives to the mass media which native northerners said they would prefer. Produced by Dalaskakis. 45 minutes.

NO MESSAGE FOR THE SOUTH: A provincial cabinet minister, a judge, and a TV reporter are among those taken in by Cree foster parents to learn the language and the ways of the people of Moose Lake. Both foster parents and their "children" sum up their experience of exchanging roles by saying, "There is no message for the people down south until they come and live with us." 15 minutes.

THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS LISTEN: three speeches, 75 minutes total. Also available separately. Three talks of special and continuing value were given at the American Anthropological Association Convention in Toronto in 1972. JOHN MOHAWK, speaking for Akwesasne Notes, described the efforts to suppress the newspaper, culminating in the arrest of its editor. He outlines the communications work which the Iroquois Confederacy has carried out since its founding and tells the spiritual basis for its continuing work. He also, in a separate talk, deals with the role of the anthropologist in aiding or combatting forced assimilation. 30 minutes. TONY BELCOURT gives a basic introduction to the life and struggle of the Metis and non-status native people across Canada, and relates the present crisis of the forgotten people to the role of the anthropologists. 15 minutes. PHILIP AWASHISH, chief councillor of the Cree Nation at Mistassini, outlines the origins of the James Bay project and the organizing effort which led to the longest trial in the history of Quebec. A scholar points out that the same thing is happening across the north, and Boyce Richardson adds his comments on what the crisis means for the continent and for committed journalists. 30 minutes.

GHOST DANCE: a discussion with an historian of Indian music about the origins of the Ghost Dance, its relation to Indian religious tradition, and how its misinterpretation contributed to the Wounded Knee Massacre. 15 minutes.

RUSSELL MEANS TALKS: about the AIM patrol in Minneapolis which got the organization underway; AIM's relations to the church, plus a statement of AIM's spiritual basis. 30 minutes.

ARCTIC HIGH RISE: two short items with women of the Arctic describing the increasing pressures of northern colonialism as they experience it. (1) Three women and a Kabloona talk about making-do in southern-type apartments while their families carry on hunting, fishing, and other traditional occupations. (2) A young Inuit girl describes what she sees around her, how the white school books tell of her world, and how she would have it told . . . if it's not already too late. 30 min.

RIEL, DUMONT AND THE BUILDING OF THE RAILWAY: As Louis Riel has become the folk hero of the prairies, Metis people have come more to admire his chief military lieutenant, Gabriel Dumont. Historian Desmond Morton tells why Dumont is the greater leader, and an Australian playwright portrays Canada's first Prime Minister participating in a 'negative conspiracy' to bring on the Second Métis uprising to stimulate support for the building of the railway. 30 minutes.

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio, and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3 3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (Please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50
60 minutes – $10.00
90 minutes – $11.00

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

Bell & Howell Co., Underground Press Package, Microphoto Division, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691

Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.,
Route 100, Milwood, N.Y. 10546

University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road, Glen Rock,
New Jersey 07452.

A PACKET OF NATIVE NEWSPAPERS

This packet contains recent issues of ten native newspapers from all over North America. It makes an easy sampling for libraries or individuals. The last packet contained River Times (Alaska, Tribal Tribune (Washington), The Native People (Alberta), Talking Leaf and UIDA Reporter (California), Native Nevadan, Indian News (Oklahoma), Nishnawbe News (Michigan), and Standing Rock Star (Dakotas) plus a few others. The packet costs $2 postpaid.

OUR OWN ALBUM – WILLIE DUNN

This stereo album of toe-tapping music is both good music and political education. Lyrics are printed on the album cover. Jerry Saddleback sings a Grass Dance Song and a Chief's Song as well. Still just $5.00.

(Sorry – we're still having trouble getting the Floyd Westerman album 'cause the company isn't in business any more. We'll let you all know when we have the album in stock again.)

BOOKS IN QUANTITY?

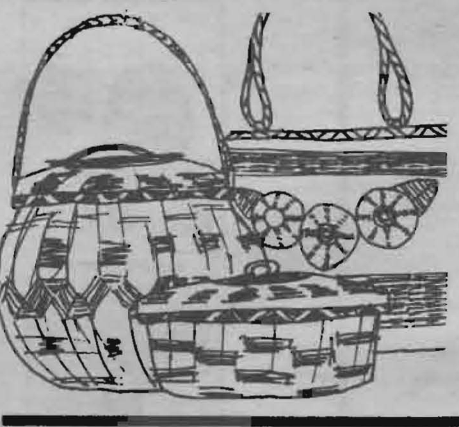
Multiple copies of any title sold by NOTES are available at discounts of 20% for books from other publishers, and 40% for our own publications. It's a chance for classrooms, church study groups, or others wanting to use a book or pamphlet – or for individuals and bookstores who want to resell books to their customers.

Also, an INDIAN BOOKSHELF of a variety of titles for resale in bookstores, health-food outlets, trading posts, or at special events is available. A sampler of $125-worth of books at retail prices is available for $100. Any unsold copies can be returned.

WHOLESALE CRAFTS

High quality beadwork: necklaces, hair-ties, bracelets, ear-rings, chokers, bolo ties and other items are now available, as well as black-ash & sweet-grass baskets from Akwesasne. There is some leatherwork: mitts, mukluks, belts, headbands.

Most are one-of-a-kind items too difficult to catalog. While we can fill some individual orders, we highly recommend the crafts on a discount basis for fund-raising. Each item is tagged with a suggested retail price, and we can send a 30-day consignment of $130 retail value for $100 wholesale of a variety of items. Any unsold items can be returned at any time. These handmade crafts will sell well at powwows, craft fairs, bazaars, and other events.



MEDICINE HERBS

VALERIAN ROOT

A full description of this relaxing tea was published in the Late Autumn, 1973, issue. It is available for $1.50 for 3 ounces with a leaflet describing its historical use by native peoples.

AMERICAN DOGWOOD

Native people use dogwood as a substitute for quinine, and some peoples have used it for diseases caused by weakness of the stomach and the bowels. It is said to revitalize the tissues and speedily removes pain from diseased parts. We can send a 3-ounce pouch of cut bark, postpaid, for $1.

The National Indian Brotherhood of Canada has a series of publications now available through NOTES.

INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION. $2.00.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE OF CANADA and THEIR ENVIRONMENT. $2.00.

STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN COMMUNITIES. $1.00.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF BOOKS AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES:

- Aboriginal People: Selected Bibliography $6.50.
- Historical Development of Aboriginal Political Associations in Canada. $2.00.
- Contemporary Indian Protests (in three volumes, each $2.00.)
- National Indian Brotherhood Library Annotated List of Holdings. $2.50.
- NIB Library Accession Lists. (Four lists, each 50 cents.)
- Lands and Recources. $2.00.

charts

Royal Ontario Museum Charts

These beautifully designed and printed charts are spectacular: about 34 x 40 inches, with an explanation in French and English. Great for displays, for classes, even hanging in a home. There are six in the series:

NASKAPI (a northern people)
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
QUILLWORK
WOOD CREE
TOYS AND GAMES
ASSINIBOINE

Each chart is $3.00, postpaid.

INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK – blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos – is available from us. It is mixed, packed, and shipped from the Mohawk Nation. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are $1.15 each, or 3 for $3.15, postage-paid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼ or ½-pound pouch.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
"Ceremonial"
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos – just barks, roots, leaves, herbs.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund-raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the 6 blends for $25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted any time.

Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES,
Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown,
New York 13683.

We have a number of sets of the poster portion of the 1973 and 1974 calendar. There are six sheets in each, with posters on both side about 10 inches x 15 inches. With the nice drawings and quotations, they make excellent framings, or for posting in classrooms & bulletin boards, dorm rooms, etc. The set for both years is $3 postpaid, a bargain that can't be beat.

We have a number of patchwork quilts of various designs made here at Akwesasne available for purchase. They are $60, and can be sent on approval – meaning that if you are not satisfied, they can be returned for exchange or full refund. Most are full doublebed size, although a few twin bed quilts are available for $50. (Quilts can also be included in crafts consignment on request.)

RESOURCES

BOOKS

THE TUSCARORAS by Shirley Hill Witt. Only 50 pages for $4.95 hardcover, but a pleasant mood describing Tuscarora and Iroquois life past and present.

THE IROQUOIS by Frank Speck. 95 p., paper, $1.00. Nice photographs of Iroquois crafts and an introduction to the culture.

THE GREAT TREE AND THE LONGHOUSE by Hazel Hertzberg. 122 p., paper, $2.50. A somewhat anthropological but pleasant book for junior and senior high ages.

THE WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE by Paul Wallace. 57 p., hardcover, $5.00. Outrageously priced, but a good book on the origins and law of the Iroquois Confederacy and Iroquois religious and moral beliefs.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS: Collected Work of Arthur C. Parker, edited by Wm. Fenton. 296 p., hardcover. $8.95. Contains Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants; The Code of Handsome Lake; the Constitution of the Five Nations. A valuable reference work.

IROQUOIS CEREMONIAL OF MIDWINTER by Elizabeth Tooker. 179 p., hardcover. $7.50. Although the author approaches the ceremony as if writing a cook-book, there is valuable information around which readers can instill the proper spirit.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Barbara Graymount. 296 p., hardcover, $11.50. Although from a non-Indian perspective, a useful scholarly work.

DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA NATION by Anthony F.C. Wallace. 337 p., paper, $2.45. About the renaissance of a people — a clear, deep historical book about religious and cultural Iroquois life.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan. 461 p., paper, $3.95. Over a century ago, Morgan wrote this classic account with much useful information.

HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS by Cadwallader Colden (1727). 181 p., paper, $2.45. Fascinating reading by a colonial scholar discussing religion, manners, customs, laws and forms of government of the Iroquois some two centuries ago.

APOLOGIES TO THE IROQUOIS by Edmund Wilson. $1.95, paper, 300 p. A white writer's impressions of Longhouse people he contacted in the 1950s, showing the roots of current thought and activism.

SEE ALSO THE PUBLICATIONS OF AKWESASNE NOTES FOR ADDITIONAL IROQUOIS MATERIALS'

LEGAL MATTERS

TAXING THOSE THEY FOUND HERE: An Examination of the Tax-Exempt Status of the American Indian by Jay Vincent White. $6.00.

1A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS MADE BY INDIAN TRIBES WITH THE UNITED STATES. For researchers, a handy reference. 30 pages, $3.00.

HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW by Felix S. Cohen. The unexpurated 1939 edition. A heavy reference volume for libraries and tribal councils and attorneys. $25.00.

ONE HUNDRED MILLION ACRES by Kirke KickingBird and Karen Ducheneaux with a forward by Vine Deloria, Jr. An accurate account of Indian lands and Indian rights — a microcosm of what is ahppening to the hole American society. $6.95 hardcover only.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS and the Proccedings of the Treaties and Agreements of the Tribes and Bands of the SIOUX NATION. A compilation of Lakota treaties from the $67.50 book — this one costs $5.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS of the United States of America with Indian Nations. $67.50. Compiled by Kappler, this book is useful for attorneys and libraries. Every broken treaty listed here.

THREE TALES AND TWO ACCOUNTS FROM THE INUIT OF THE NORTH

TALES FROM THE IGLOO, edited and translated by Maurice Metayer, illustrated by Agnes Nanogak. A beautiful book of legends answering the mysteries of the northern world. $4.95, hardcover.

BOOK OF THE ESKIMOS by Peter Freuchen, an explorer whose own philosophy salts that of his hosts. An earthy, jolly book of a people and a man. 95 cents.

THE NETSILIK ESKIMO by Asen Balikci. An anthropological view of the People of the Seal. $3.95.

STORY OF COMOCK THE ESKIMO as told to Robert Flaherty and edited by Edmund Carpenter. A story of human fortitude with sensitive sketches by Inuit artists. Spellbinding for children. 95 cents, paper, 128 p.

HARPOON OF THE HUNTER by Markoosie. A first Inuit novel of the struggle for manhood and survival. 81 pages. $4.95, hardcover only. Good for younger readers.

I NUGLIAK, edited and translated by Maurice Metayer. A Canadian Eskimo records the contentment and struggle of his life-style $1.25, paper, 184 p.

THE SACRED HERBS

THE TEACHINGS OF DON JUAN: A YAQUI WAY OF KNOWLEDGE by Carlos Castaneda. The first volume of a trilogy on a new philosophy to emerge from the drug culture with a native basis. Socratic dialogue of a man with his medicine guide. $1.25.

A SEPARATE REALITY: Further Conversations with Don Juan by Carlos Castaneda. $1.25.

JOURNEY TO IXTLAN: The Lessons of Don Juan. The third volume of the trilogy. $2.95.

THE PEYOTE CULT by Weston LaBarre. A supportive but anthropological study of group use of psychedelic drug for spriitual purposes. $2.45.

POETRY

THE MAGIC WORLD edited by William Brandon. paperback, $2.50. Imaginative translations, with an excellent introduction on the nature of native poetry. Highly recommended.

SHAKING THE PUMPKIN edited by Jerome Rothenberg. 474 p., paperback, $4.50. Traditional poetry of the Indian North Americas, translated with an effort to preserve the original qualities. Highly recommended.

WHISPERING WIND: Poetry by Young American Indians. Edited by Terry Allen, introduction by Mae Durham. 124 p., paperback, $1.95. Featuring work by such poets as Alonzo Lopez, Calvin O'John, Phil George, Agnes Pratt.

FROM THE BELLY OF THE SHARK, edited by Walter Lowenfels. Poems by Chicanos, Eskimos, Hawaiians, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and related poems by others. 350 p., $1.95.

THE WINGED SERPENT: An Anthology of American Indian Prose and Poetry, edited with an introduction by Margot Astrov. A good survey of traditional poetry, not too imaginatively presented. 300 p., 95 cents.

VOICES FROM WAHKON-TAH: Contemporary Poetry of Native Americans. Edited by Robert Dodge and Joseph McCullough with a foreward by Vine Deloria Jr. 144 p., $2.75. Contains the work of some new poets: Ray Young Bear, Donna WhiteWing, Marnie Walsh, Bruce Severy and others.

SWEETGRASS: A Modern Anthology of Indian Poetry by Orville, Wayne, and Ronald Keon. 156 p., $2.50, illustrated. A unique volume by a family of poets. Uneven, but with some strong pieces.

COME TO POWER, edited by Dick Lourie. Some good new contemporary native poets, with a knowledgeable introduction by Joseph Bruchac. $3.95, paperback.

The International Workgroup for Indigenous Affairs is a non-political and non-religious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries. It publishes a series of pamphlets of case studies which are valuable as resources, and for use by anthropology classes.

DECLARATION OF BARBADOS: co-published by AKWESASNE NOTES. A statement on the role of anthropologists and churches in preventing oppression. 8 pages, 15 cents.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE AMAZON: THE CAMPA CASE, by John Bodley. 15 pages, 40 cents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION (1957-1973). 44 pages, $1.00.

THE URGENT SITUATION OF THE CUIVA INDIANS OF COLOMBIA: by ernard Arcand. 28 pages, 50 cents.

THE FOREST INDIANS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF PERU by Stefano Varese. 29 pages, $ .50.

THE ANATOMY OF A LAND INVASION SCHEME IN YEKUANA TERRITORY, VENEZUELA by Walter Coppens. 24 pages, $ .50.

THE ACHE INDIANS: GENOCIDE IN PARAGUAY by Mark Munzel. 82 pages, $1.50.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE YE'CUANA ("Macquiritare") POLITICAL SYSTEM: Stability and Crisis. 24 pages by Nelly Arvelo Jiminez. $ .50.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE ALTO MARANON: THE ARUARUNA CASE by Henning Siverts. 82 pages, $1.50.

THE BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY: The Example of the Xingu National Park by armen Junqueira. How the Brazilian Government violates its own policies, causing the extermination of native peoples. 50 cents.

NOVELS OF THE PEOPLE

FIG TREE JOHN by Edwin Corle. An embittered Apache's struggle to raise an Apache son in the face of "civilization." Although Corle takes extreme literary license in converting a real-life California native man into a novel of an Apache, it is a tense and exciting character study. $2.45, paper.

I HEASD THE OWL CALL MY NAME by Margaret Craven. Just done for television as a CBS special. The novel of a priest and a village, and whathappened to each. $4.95 hardcover only.

SEVEN ARROWS by Hyemeyohsts Storm. A controversial novel of the Cheyenne which has provoked great affection — or disgust. The paperback edition is indefinitely out of stock at the publishers, but the hardcover edition is available for $9.95.

WHEN THE LEGENDS DIE by Hal Borland. The book is better than the movie. A young native boy, torn between two worlds, finds his ancestral ways, alone. 75 cents.

RABBIT BOSS by Thomas Sanchez. An impassioned chronicle spanning a century in the life and death of the Washoes. 530 p., paper, $1.95 paper, $7.95 hardcover.

SOUL CATCHER by Frank Herbert. Another youth, caught between two worlds, decides upon retribution for his people in a spellbinding novel you won't put down. $1.25.

STAY AWAY JOE by Dan Cushman. Good humor about a fast-dealing free-wheeling fork-tongued "hero" of the new west. Caught between two worlds, this guy chooses to beod. $1.95.

THE MAN WHO KILLED THE DEER by Frank Waters. A novel of Pueblo life, poetically written. Martiniano, a man struggling to become a man.

N'TSUK, a novel by Yves Theriault, translated by Gwendolynoore. A fictionalized autobiography of a Montagnais woman, who compares her life with urban people. $2.25.

and

ASHINI, also by Yves Theriault. The fictionalized autobiography of a Montagnais hunter, conerning his relations with nature, his own people, and the white world. $2.50.

Spiritual Values: The Way

THE GOSPEL OF THE REDMAN compiled by Ernest Thompson Seton. A collection of materials on a way of life. $1.95.

THE SPIRITUAL LEGACY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Joseph Epes Brown. Native theology in an attractive pamphlet. 70 cents.

THE WORLD'S RIM: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians by Hartley Burr Alexander. Native philosophy. $1.95.

A Benedictine abbey in South Dakota puts out some of the nicest pamphlets suitable for pleasant reading at home or in schools. Each is beautifully designed, about 12 pages in length. 25 cents each, or all six for $1.25.

A STORY FROM CHARLIE as told to Sister Susan. In calligraphy, from Turtle Mountain.

THE CREATOR HAS MADE THE WORLD — COME AND SEE IT. A collection of short essays and prayers.

BUFFY SAINTE-MARIE — songs and photos of the Indian situation, from the old Buffy.

SMALL EYES' LAST HUNT: a fine short story to read to grandchildren — or to grandparents.

GERONIMO: a graphic poem.

TWO LEGENDS OF THE SIOUX, sensitively presented.

The California Peoples

NATIVE AMERICANS OF CALIFORNIA & NEVADA: A Handbook by Jack D. Forbes. 197pp, Includes discussion on basic concepts for understanding native history. $3.95 paperbound.

THE POMO INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA and their Neighbors: by Vinson Brown and Douglas Andrews with full color map, and many illustrations 63 pp, $2.50.

THE CALIFORNIA INDIANS: A Source Book, compiled and edited by R.F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple; 600 pp. $5.95.

ISHI IN TWO WORLDS: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America by Theodora Kroeber. The story of the lone survivor of the Yahi People. $2.45.

BAG OF BONES: Legends of the Wintu Indians of Northern California by Marcelle Masson, as told by Grant Towendolly. $2.50.

THE MOJAVE OF THE COLORADO: Pages of History. A pamphlet of 24 pages, 50 cents, illustrated.

ALMOST ANCESTORS: The First Californians, by Theodora Kroeber and Robert Heizer. A large format book of beautiful photographs, quotations, and a supportive text. 167 p., paper, $3.95.

CRAFT MANUAL OF YUKON TLINGIT. 56 pages, $1.95. Everything from hide boats to dolls.

INDIAN BASKET WEAVING: The Navajo School of Indian Basketry. 104 p., $1.75 paperback. Explains methods of coiled weaving, getting into basic techniques.

PICTURE WRITING OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS by Garrick Mallery. 822 pages, 1290 pictures and 54 plates in two volumes, each $5.00, paperbound. A reprint of an 1889 Bureau of American Ethnology report covering rock writing, picture writing, winter counts, tattoo marks, significance of colors "and much more."

PRIMITIVE ART by Franz Boas. 378 p., paperbound, $3.00. Textiles, ceramics, woodcarving, basketry, metalwork, patterns, technology, symbols and styles. All areas of the world, but very full on Northwest Coast of North America. 350 illustrations.

DESIGNS FROM PHE-COLUMBIAN MEXICO by Jorge Encisco. 300 designs, 105 p., paper. $1.50. A treasury of unique designs found on malacates.

DESIGNS FROM ANCIENT MEXICO by Jorge Encisco. 153 p., paper. $2.50. A display of native decorative ingenuity.

PUEBLO POTTER: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art. 160 pages, 38 color plates and hundreds of two-color illustrations, paperbound $3.00. How the personal element is expressed in a time-honored structure of symbolism.

INDIAN LEGENDS LIVE IN PUPPETRY: A Creative Manual by Vera Leeper. How to portray the old stories to encourage creative spirits. 160 pages, paperback, $2.50. A nice book for teachers and others.

THE INDIANS' BOOK recorded and edited by Natalie Curtis. 584 p., paperback. $4.50. A standard work in ethnomusicology with 149 songs in full notation, with other material on native cultures.

INDIAN SIGN LANGUAGE by William Tomkins. 290 pictographs of Sioux and Ojibwa, and 525 signs for non-verbal communication. Paperback, $1.25.

DECORATIVE ART OF THE SOUTHWEST INDIANS by Dorothy Smith Sides. 295 illus., 101 pages, paper. $1.50. Pueblo pottery, Hopi kachina decorations, Zuni mask motifs, Navaho blankets, Apache baskets, Mohave beadwork.

A COLORING BOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS. 50 p., paperback. $1.50. For older children and adults.

MEDIEVAL AMERICAN ART by Pal Keleman. In two volumes, each of about 400 p., paperbound, with extensive photos. Volume I has an introduction, with sections on architecture, sculpture and pottery. Volume II covers weaving, metal work, jade and other semiprecious stones, murals and manuscripts, and miscellaneous applied arts. It also has chapters on daily life and evolution of art form. Each volume is $4.50.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS. A small beautiful book of arts and crafts with many illustrations. $1.95.

WHEN CLAY SINGS by Byrd Baylor and illustrated by Tom Bahti. An award-winning book for children, adults, artists. A slim attractive hardcover book that captures the meaning of art in life. $4.95.

TSIMSHIAN INDIANS AND THEIR ARTS by Viola Garfield and Paul Wingert. A study of a creative culture and the role of art in life. 91 pages, paperback, illustrated, $2.95.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVEN by Bill Holm. 93 p., paperback, $4.95. The catalog of the Sidney Gerber Collection of Northwest Coast Inaidn Art in the Burke Washington State Museum. Photographs.

PUEBLO DESIGNS by H.P. Mera. 113 pages, paperback. $2.50. Contains 176 illustrations of variations on the Rain Bird design from pueblo pottery.

AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN AND DECORATION by Leroy Appleton. 265 p., large paperback format, $4.00 Contains 700 illustrations from the western hemisphere. Also contains some legends and cultural info.

MONUMENTS IN CEDAR: The Authentic Story of the Totem Pole by Edward Keithahn. Originally published at $12.50, but now $3.95. 150 photo. A pictorial account of the history and meanings of potlatch and mortuary poles, house posts, ceremonial bowls, masks, of the native people of the Pacific Northwest. Hardcover.

THE WOLF AND THE RAVEN: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska by Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest. 67 photos and the legends to go with each pole. Where literature and art combine.

Our Nations: The Old Accounts

THE OMAHA TRIBE:by Alice C. Fletcher & Francis LaFlesche. First published in 1911, vol 1 is devoted to tribal origins, beliefs, rites, and vol 2 considers language, religion, social life. $3.50 each volume, 660 pages total.

THE CHEYENNE INDIANS by George Bird Grinnell. First published in 1923. Vol. 1 is on history, old-time ways, village life, camp customs. Vol. II includes warrior societies, religious beliefs, disease, ceremonials. $3.00 for each volume. 420 pages total.

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE by Paul Radin. Written in the early 1900s. 500 pages of information as told by the People. $5.00.

Also, Birds of a Feather. . .

NOTES: Some Indians are anxious to work within the system that exists, whilst others appear hell-bent on the possibly impossible task of restoring rights as they were over 100 years ago. Surely a united front by the Indian population as a whole, whether compromised or not, would, in realistic terms, be far more beneficial to them?

I have read many wise Indian says. An old English one which you might reflect on: "United we stand, divided we fall."

Jeremy A.H. Ellis
England

[Good advice. By the way, let us know how you all make out in Ireland. The Editors.]

Drugs – A Weapon Against Us

NOTES: From the emergence of black awareness in the '50s, drugs have been sanctioned as a strategic and most effective weapon to still the voices, conquer the spirits, destroy the minds, and consume the lives of those who might otherwise have fought for the rights and freedom of their people.

It seems a tragedy that the Native American should fall victim to yet another evil contrivance of the racist tyrants who would pilfer our land, manipulate our minds, and enslave our spirits, when the Indian has spiritual leaders to look to for guidance.

Drug warfare has now been employed in an attempt to inveigle all the peoples of this land, who would rise in protest of the invidious people who would pillage our land and strip us of our rights. Not until it spread to the suburban homes of White America did it become a recognized problem that had to be dealt with.

Self-help centers like ours are coerced into doing battle with bureaucrats, do-gooders, and self-righteous self-indulgent parents who are often as not as ill-informed as the unfortunate victims of the most insidious mania yet devised by the worshippers of the Greenbacked God of Greed.

Drugs and/or alcohol as dropping-out or suicide are only symptoms and while understanding and a commitment of oneself to reach-out to others do help, as yet we believe no cure can truly be effective until the causes are eliminated. We face the causes every day as we strive to learn about the symptoms. We are humble about our inadequacy to deal with these problems and are ever seeking greater knowledge.

Peace to the people at AKWESASNE NOTES from the people at STEPPING STONE.

Don Rudzinski, Director
Stepping Stone
Box 292
Elnora, New York 12065

Soul-gratifying Inspiration

NOTES: I'm attaching an order which includes requests for issues of the last edition of NOTES to be sent to various newspapers and periodicals. I feel the information in this edition should be available to our big papers in Philadelphia, as well as *The New York Times* and *Time Magazine.*

As a newcomer, each issue seems to better the previous one (if this is at all possible). What I find so soul-gratifying is the constant aspirational and inspirational tone of the contributors and letter-writers. And that's more than any of our long-established dailies can say. With you in Spirit,

Agnes Laurens
Norwood, Pennsylvania

Interest Isn't Good Enough

NOTES: This letter is directed to my friends who read NOTES. Obviously you must have some sort of interest i the Native People. But remember, interest can range from finding an ancient handworked stone for your collection to fighting for the rights of native people.

We whites cannot apologize for the Trail of Tears, for it began a long time ago. But it has been a long trail, and it is time we put an end to it. What we whites can do is to fight and give our support to native happening, and help eliminate false facts that many Anglo minds hold.

SP/6 Charlie Carlson
United States Army/Europe

Materials Needed in Prison

BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF NOTES: We are writing this letter to thank you for your constant correspondence and for the literature you have sent us.

We here at the California Rehabilitation Center/Norco have been seeking people who will send us literature so that we may prepare our minds for betterment. We are few here at the center, but we are dedicated to our cause. In the past, our numbers were few, but this did not stop our Fathers in believing and we are not going to give up and die in shame. We are hoping that other native people will read this letter and contact us.

A Warrior's Ways

NOTES: On October 1, 1974, I went to the barbershop in the Clinton Correctional Facility. The civilian in charge told me to get a hair cut. I told the civilian barber it was against my religion to cut my hair, as I am of the Longhouse religion.

The civilian-in-charge told me if I didn't get my hair cut, I would be taken to the box – segregation. I said, what does it say in the rules about haircuts? The civilian said, "Hair must be above ears and not touching your shirt on the back of your neck, and that's the rules."

So I said I will take a haircut according to your rules. So I received a Mohawk hair-cut [head shaved except for a band of hair running down the center]. It was above my ears, and not touching my shirt on the back of my neck.

I was then placed in lock-up "because I had an Indian haircut." Let me know if you can help me.

Douglas (Little Turtle) Anderson 48250
Box B
Dannemora, New York 12929

Three Feathers Society

NOTES: We are seeking to re-establish Three Feathers Society, urging all who are interested to join. Since the death of Dr. Tom Whitecloud, contact has been lost with many people who were on the original membership list. We would like to contact these people so we may up-date names and addresses of members. Hopefully, in the near future, I can compile a newsletter to be sent to members. Let us honor Dr. Whitecloud's memory by carrying on his work and dream of uniting our people.

Joyce E. Stipe
Route 3
Gruver, Texas 79040

The Great Feather Ring

NOTES: The arrest of native people for possessing feathers is an extremely disturbing use of ecology laws against the Indian people, rather than the white people whose waste and poison have caused the eagle to become so scarce.

John Lake
Los Angeles, California

Concern from Germany

NOTES: I am very concerned over the number of letters in NOTES from Indian people in prison who don't seem to have any family, friends, or anyone to care about them. If there are any Indian people in this situation who would like someone to write to them, I would be very happy to do so. My heart is completely with the Indian people -- they come second only to my own family and whatever I can do to help, I will do gladly.

Georgia Matten
5161 Obermaubach
Bergsteinerstrasse 44
West Germany

Spiritual Paths Cross

NOTES: I am involved in a research project comparing matrifocal religions and matriarchal societies of Northern Europe and North America. I would prefer assistance on this matter with someone in the Dallas area, but every communication will be appreciated.

Mark Roberts
POBox 1646
Dallas, Texas 75221

For Navajo/Hopi Brothers

NOTES: This is to the Navajo and Hopi. Please hear what I have to say. Surely there is some way you can settle a land dispute without resorting to violence. This will only serve to give the white man an excuse to further interfere in your affairs.

My brothers, let us not fight each other. If we must fight, then let it be together against the real enemy. Let us not resort to the whiteman's way of violence – for if we do, then we become no better than the same people who deny us our rights and freedom.

James Lucas 210356
Route 3, Ellis Unit
Huntsville, Texas 77340

Diabetes Remedy for Pimas

NOTES: May I, as a diabetes sufferer, offer some help to the diabetes problem of the Pima mentioned in NOTES? I have heard of the elaborate irrigation system of the Gila River Pimas in the past, so perhaps it is ridiculous to suggest that they should plant paprika, as this vegetable replaces meat by its albumen. Cooked together with tomatoes, it's very nice and it can be grown in the warmer regions of the world. Moreover, it is rich in vitamins, too. I like it very much.

In Germany, pickled cabbage (sauerkraut) is looked upon as the very best remedy for diabetes. Perhaps cabbage and paprika will help the Pima people to recover from their bad health situation.

Hildegard Ertl
Munchen, Germany

The Cycles of Life & Sea

NOTES: The piece about the death of your compatriots (vol 6 no. 3) was very moving. We live close to the life-death cycle of the universe here at the edge of the sea and feel with you the sadness and joy brought by that cycle. The mackeral season is just about finished now, and traditionally this is a time of mending nets, repairing gear and boats, and hunting for meat for the winter. However, progress in the shape of giant draggers and quota systems means that this season also sees some fishermen haul up their boats for the last time – an enforced death of a culture and a way of life which makes us angry, just as native people are angry about the enforced death of their culture and way of life.

We are working to preserve the culture of the outports of this country. When an old fisherman dies, there is a sense of inevitability and peace. When a young fisherman dies, we feel a great loss for he symbolizes another thin thread of this culture being broken forever.

Our struggle and yours are one and the same. May the spirit of all oppressed peoples unite to fight the oppressor and save our common and compatible way of life.

Jeanne Fay
Canso, Nova Scotia

Good Medicine

NOTES: Your paper is good strong medicine for the heart and head.

Grey Wolf
Wounded Buffalo Leather
Box 303
Jerome, Arizona 86331

Cleansing Away Bitterness

NOTES: There are many books about Indians in our St. Pete book store. Those that have bitterness in them should be read only by white people, because it arouses sympathy and understanding. But until the Indian can cleanse himself of bitterness and unforgiveness, he will suffer. The Sacred Pipe is a very good book for Indians to read.

Mrs. Fern Tomey
Tampa, Florida

A Delightful Cover

NOTES: Your cover is a delight, beautiful and uncompromising, loud and clear. I intend to use it in a two-year battle with the schools here to let children out to play at lunch. Now that it's under 32 degrees, i.e., all winter, they're kept in.

Shiela Rodito
Accord, New York

[We are grateful to a brother, Duncan, a prisoner in Iowa, for the cover on our last issue. The Eds.]

What's the Party For?

NOTES: I agree strongly with Lillian Peterson, chairman of the American Indian Movement from Portland, Oregon, concerning the 200th anniversary of the United States Government. I have only one thing to add – why should we native Americans celebrate the death of our Grandfathers?

Walk in balance, my brothers and sisters.

Jo Stafford
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Ganiengeh

NOTES: At the People's Council in Ganienkeh held November 21, one of the issues passed was to ask NOTES to make a retraction of the title in the article, "Statement by the Six Nations Legal Task Force" as the same has not been authorized by the Grand Council [of the Iroquois Confederacy]. We have no wishes to antagonize any sensitive member or members of the Grand Council whose support we need very much.

People have gotten into hot water with the Grand Council for using the title "Six Nations" without authorization. A group, committee, association, or task force must get clearance with the Grand Council before using the title.

The office involved, a communication center, was established as an extension of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee and shall be closed shortly and transferred to Ganienkeh where all correspondence should be directed in the future. Address:

Ganienkeh
via Eagle Bay, N.Y. 13331
telephone (315) 357-9721

The Ganienkeh Indian Project is mainly a Mohawk project. Its success depends in a great part on the support by other Indians and Indian newspapers. AKWESASNE NOTES, a Mohawk newspaper, in its article, seems to disassociate itself from the Mohawk project. One gets the impression that the NOTES is reporting a news item, a happening in Timbuctu. The "Statement" apparently written by another person is more spirited and concerned for which we are very thankful.

AKWESASNE NOTES is widely read, even in foreign lands, and if the readers get the impression that AKWESASNE NOTES doesn't think much of the Ganienkeh project, why should they? Why should other Indians get involved in like undertakings? An Indian newspaper has the duty to support, publicize, and sponsor traditiona Indian movements, especially when they are fighting for human rights, to repossess their rightful lands (not just "claims") and decide their own destiny.

We sincerely hope to see more support in AKWESASNE NOTES of this greatest of Indian projects.

Louis Hall, Secretary
Ganienkeh Council Fire

[AKWESASNE NOTES staff people are in full support of Ganienkeh, and have demonstrated this support materially, financially, physically, spiritually within out admittedly meagre resources. We are grateful to Ganienkeh for making a reality of a traditional community operating as a sovereign people.

[The correction regarding "Six Nations" is welcomed. The release was printed as received from a person active both with NOTES and Ganienkeh, and we printed it as an official statement, not as a NOTES article.

[The lack of adequate coverage of Ganienkeh is unfortunately true, as it is with many other aspects of the native movement. We do not have a reporting staff as such, and our few people putting together each issue necessarily are confined to material which has been sent in to them. Thus we invite from Ganienkeh tapes or articles by the participants, telling what is happening, how they feel about it, and whatever else they want to say. People involved in other actions and places are invited to do the same. It is only in this way – or until we have a reporting staff – that we can be a strong voice. Rarihokwats.]

The Right To Be

FRIENDS: The quality and perception with which your magazine approaches the subject of the affairs of Native Americans is both refreshing and enlightening and must be continued until everyone is made aware of the right of all people to be.

I was particularly pleased to read the declaration made by those at Standing Rock (early summer issue.) The unity and decisiveness expressed by the International Treaty Council must have touched the heart and mind of all who read them. The Declaration of Continuing Independence's aims and specifications were all too clear and no man can easily misinterpret them. I support these Declarations, as should all men of conscience.

You also touched on another subject close to my heart, that being the reoccupation of the Mohawk homeland at Ganienkeh. I first learned of the return in your Late Spring/1974 issue, and was very pleased that you followed up on the story and hope you continue to do so in the future. The return to the original homeland and the traditional way of life is an example of the true values which must be nourished and spread among all those who feel that their peace can be achieved in that manner. I support the people of Ganienkeh and wish them long life and happiness.

Cy Edworthy
Unadilla, New York

Thanks From Concord Library

NOTES: On behalf of our library patrons, may I say how grateful we are for your very fine paper.

Robert Loud, Asst. Director
Concord Free Public Library
Concord, Massachusetts

Brothers and Sisters?

NOTES: Why do the people at NOTES call themselves brothers and sisters? I have written to them and it seems that my letters didn't suit their taste or are they better than me? I notice when they receive a letter from me, they never answer it. Why? Is it because I have said something not right?

Lavis Woodliff 126130
954 Forrest St.
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

[Brother, we are so few in number here that if we did nothing else but answer letters, we would not get them all answered. We try to do our best. Perhaps other readers will help by writing to those prisoners, especially, whose addresses appear in NOTES. The Eds.]

Prison Coalition

Recently, the American Indian Culture Group invited all Asian peoples incarcerated within this institution to merge into the AICG. We did this to express our profound feelings of solidarity with all Third World Peoples engaged in the struggle to maintain cultural identities amidst the "melting pot" racist society. This institution emphasizes ethnic balance between white, black, and brown (Chicano) peoples. Therefore, we, as well as our Asian brothers, have always been pushed aside or left out of various functions within the institution because we have had little or no representation on the Ethnic Relations Council. With the vital support of a few sincere staff members, we were able to have representatives of our organization recognized, which is to say that we were finally recognized as a separate people.

Since we now have an Asian Involvement unit within our organization, we formed a coalition with two other special interest groups. Our organization, PROUD (Puerto Ricans Organized for Unity and Determination) and NORTH (No Other Reason Than Help.)

American Indian Culture Group
Lloyd Rodriguez, Secretary
POBox 841
Corona, California 91720

On Becoming a Warrior

NOTES: The task of becoming a warrior is to be one with one's self. Today we learn to think about everything the white man teaches us, and then we train our eyes to look at the world in this way. We look at ourselves and think we are worthless or unimportant.

Once I became a warrior, I put all my petty fears away. A warrior takes the responsibility of protecting his people and his life. You should know a warrior lives by acting, not by thinking about acting, nor by thinking about what he will think when he has finished acting.

A warrior chooses a path with heart and follows it. It is the consistent choice of the path with heart which makes a warrior different from the average man. He knows that a path has heart when he is one with it, when he experiences a great peace and pleasure traversing its length.

A warrior's will sits with him on his mat — they are friends. His will advises him how to choose. If he needs to eat, he finds a way because he is not hungry. If something hurts his body, he finds a way to stop it, because he is not in pain.

Freddie Arkeketa 79928
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

Aw, Shucks . . . (blush)

NOTES: Your paper continues not only to be the best "movement" or alternative paper I've ever seen, but in many ways is the finest paper on the continent.

Ron Silliman
San Francisco, California

Anger Seeking Wisdom

NOTES: I am one of two Eskimos incarcerated at Folsom State Prison. We read your paper and see the dire need of the news you print made available to our people up home! They must be informed — that which has happened down here can happen to them if they don't become better united than they are.

Your paper, to use Blue Cloud's words, is truly "Anger Seeking Wisdom". My people must learn what caused that anger and search for the wisdom to combat that. I can think of no better way than reading AKWESASNE NOTES for a Native American to find his or her true identity.

I truly believe your paper has done more to rehabilitate native prisoners and give them a constructive purpose in life than all the words of their white keepers. Quyahnaa, Anyaiyukok Amawk,

John L. Lombard
POBox B-48484
Represa, California 95671

Sing no sad song for me
Buy me no floral wreaths
Grieve not for me
And don't wear black.
Rejoice *for* me and *with* me
Surround me with simple flowers
Pale violets and white roses
Wear white or light colors.

Do not be selfish, but be happy
For I will be happy
And that is how I wish you to be
Let your tears be only of joy.

Please contain your sobbing
For it's sound will surely tear my heart
Do not miss me so very much
Because I will always be here.

If you must cry, cry softly
And whisper your last goodbyes
Don't speak of regrets for past hurts
The past is too far behind me and all is forgiven
Pass lightly over my faults
And think not of my misdeeds
Remember only the goodtimes
And that I'll always love you.

—Loretta Lynch

[Loretta Lynch was born September 23, 1956, and died February 15, 1974. A native woman, from Maryland, she died while attending college in New Mexico. Her poem was sent to NOTES by her parents who wished "to share with others who may have lost someone loved." As she says, "I will always be here."]

Our grandfather, Richard Thorpe, a Mohawk, passed into the spirit world in late Autumn after a long illness. He had been an avid supporter of AKWESASNE NOTES from his home on the Rogue River in Oregon where he maintained his land as a wildlife refuge. He was an expert craftsman, artist, drum-maker, and teacher, and before his death, he had ordained that his land would pass over to AKWESASNE NOTES for operation in the Mohawk ways as a learning center to keep up the natural ways of life. His spirit will rest easy as that pledge becomes fulfilled. We, his people, honor our grandfather.

An All-American Product

NOTES: I was reading your newspaper and I note that you refer to Blacks as Brothers. Why is it that you refer to them as brothers when they are niggers? Are you saying you are niggers? This is the impression I got from your paper.

So, if you want to be a nigger, be a nigger, but don't go around putting it in my little brother's minds. Print my letter so all my Indian brothers can read it.

Michael Quiroga
Box 600
Tracy, California 95376

[Gee, and all the time we thought the Earth was our mother and that all her children were related. But then, we usually leave it to the readers to answer letters to the editor for publication in future issues. The Eds.]

New Address For AIM

NOTES: We would like to inform you of the newly-established Western National AIM office located at 19½ Avenue 23rd, Venice, California 90291. The national executive director, Dennis Banks, appointed Ernie Peters as director of the office, which will help cover the West Coast area. One of our major priorities is communications.

Joanna Jason, Correspondence
American Indian Movement, Inc.
telephone (213) 336-5094.

On Her Way Back Home

FRIENDS: We who are Indians today live in a world of confusion. We love our Indian ways and in this we are comfortable. But to get along in this world we are told we must be white men. I am a half-breed. My father was Nez Perce. For 13 years I lived on the reservation and I was really in tune with Mother Earth. Then my father died. My mother moved away to Miami. I am now 16 years old.

Here, I am not feeling as I felt back home. This life is too materialistic and full of phoney values. I don't see how any of us could live like this and be content. I have lived both ways.

I hope all of you will stay atuned with the Great Spirit, and not lead on to any false beliefs. The white man will save the goose and the crane, but he is not saving the way of life of the Indian.

I am going home.

Dyann Morning Star
Miami, Florida

Blessings and Hardy Handshake

NOTES: Blessings and hardy handshake to all the ones who work there. This letter leaves me in good spirit, and I hope it will reach you in the same situation. I am really grateful that I received the Indian newspaper — it really does give me a lot of strength and feeling of happiness that I have a chance to read about my people, especially the AIMs since I am a true member myself.

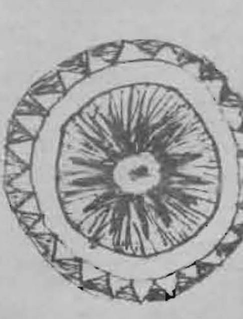
I have been wanting to say something that has been on my mind — if I have something good to say I'd like to pass it on to all my brothers and sisters all over the four corners of the earth. I have been here since Spring of this year, and I'm not young — 38 years of age. When I came here, at my own fault, I felt lost. But then I started using my brains, which I should have done before — I prayed in my own language, which no one can take away from me.

I had asked Our Spirit, "I really need you." I ask him for strength, as I was weak. I asked to be made stronger with my faith. Then one day last month, I had a visitor. I didn't have nothing to offer him, so I told him to sit down and I asked him what he had on his mind. He said, "Bertha, would you like to go on a retreat?" I couldn't say anything for awhile. Then he said, "Just say yes or no." I didn't answer him yes or no; all I said was "Thank you for bringing me the message." Now, myself, I call it "a fast", so two other women and I we went 250 miles from here. It was a powerful experience for me. There I gave thanks and prayered for all my People. And all the ones in prison.

So two things I have accomplished in here: I may be fenced in but I'm not bound inside. And I have the love of our Great Spirit. Not even men with Gold can buy it.

You are always in my prayers — our Great Spirit loves you because I do. Be strong, stand tall. Someone reads your smoke signals.

Bertha Spotted Elk 18333
Box A
Alderson, West Virginia 24910



Hip! Hip! Hooray!

NOTES: Hurrah for the American Indian Movement and leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks. Thanks to the judge for telling it like it is! The American Indian no longer is standing in the shadows — an example for all peoples and a victory over oppression.

Carol Stutzman
New Moorefield, Ohio

Cherokee Language Help Needed

NOTES: I'm 5/8 Cherokee and I'm very much interested to learn more of the Cherokee Nation and the Cherokee language, especially. In order to do this, I must know who to contact so I can get the information I need. I am wondering if you may be able to help me find out more on this.

Owen Ingram 86055
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

Go Back to the Old Ways

NOTES: I just want to say that I am proud that the Great Spirit made me an Indian. All my brothers and sisters, you should be proud also. Go back to the Old Ways, follow the Indian road of life, speak to the Great Spirit and thank the Great Spirit for each day., You will be much happier, and so will I.

Cante Onsika
Boston, Massachusetts

Any 'Skins in Worcester?

NOTES: I would like to have my name put in NOTES to have some of my people write to me. Where I live there aren't any Indians around. I hope to hear from some of my people.

Jane Morris
70 Harrison St.
Worcester, Massachusetts 01604

In Harmony

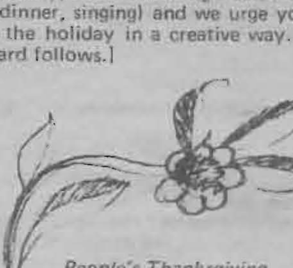
NOTES: I wish to live in harmony and balance on the Mother Earth. I would like to hear from and get together with others with similar thoughts.

Mike Rivers
3059 Curtis Ave.
Omaha, Nebraska 68111

The New Thanksgiving Day

SISTERS AND BROTHERS: We are trying to reclaim Thanksgiving to change its meaning, to make it a tribute to people's struggle.

We enclose this card [text below] in an effort to build the support and revolutionary culture we need for years of struggle. In our local community, we are holding a celebration (pot luck dinner, singing) and we urge you also to treat the holiday in a creative way. [Text of the card follows.]



People's Thanksgiving
A commemoration of the
history of people's struggle in our country,
the heritage of resistance — Native American
uprisings, slave revolts, farmers'
rebellions, workers' struggles,
children's revolt,
women's struggles, prisoner insurrections,
mutinies, and all militant resistance
against the forces
of oppression.

A commitment to continued struggle,
to the solidarity and unity of Third World
and white peoples, workers, poor people,
and all others working
to build a revolutionary movement in
the United States.
A dedication to the building of a new
community, a revolutionary
culture, grounded in the past, but directed
to the future.
A celebration of
our accomplishments so far,
the partial victories
which strengthen us and propel us on
to greater victory.

The Thirteenth Street House
429 S. 13th St.
San Jose, California 95112

This Time

This time you said
everything will turn out all right.
This time you said
everything will be equal and fair.
This time you promised
justice will prevail.
This time you promised
human rights will be recognized.
This time, this time.
That is what you promised
Last time.

– Renee Gemmill

Countdown

Ten little Indians
Standing in a line
One asked the question
"Isn't this land mine?"
No one had an answer
Left were only nine.

Nine little Indians
Standing tall and straight
One asked the question,
"Who'll decide my fate?"
No one had an answer
Left were only eight

Eight little Indians
Looking up to Heaven
One asked the question,
"Who are my brethren?"
No one had an answer
Left were only seven.

Seven little Indians
Few left now to pick
One asked the question,
"Who will heal our sick?"
No one had an answer
Left were only six.

Six little Indians
How did they survive?
One asked the question
"How shall we stay alive?"
No one had an answer
Left were only five.

Five little Indians
Puzzled at the law
One asked the question
"Can we take much more?"
No one had an answer
Left were only four.

Four little Indians
Stand for man to see
One asked the question,
"Who will set us free?"
No one had an answer
Left were only three.

Three little Indians
Why are there so few
One asked the question
"What are we to do?"
No one had an answer
Left were only two.

Two little Indians,
Standing in the sun
One asked the question,
"What has mankind done?"
No one had an answer
Left was only one.

One little Indian
In his hand a gun
Asks the fatal question,
"Where else can I run?"
No one had an answer
And then . . .

– Ruth Farabaugh

(Angel was a defender of Oglalas in the occupation of Wounded Knee 1973. He was killed in an automobile accident in Arizona this summer.)

For Angel

Standing upon this wind-swept hill
looking out over this small lonely valley,
memories run through my mind like fire
the proudest, happiest and most free days of my life
happened within this valley.
We stood here as a nation, a free independent
Indian nation
hearing gunfire echoing from days long past
remembering the happiest most free people on earth
recalling the freedom that was so overwhelming
Remembering brings tears to my eyes

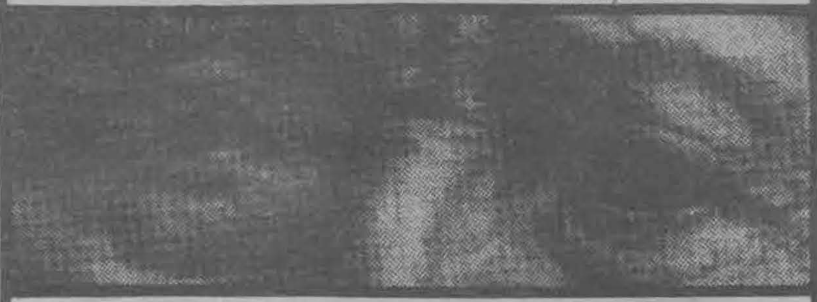
Blinking back tears . . . I sta
Memories fade. I ret
I have looked at one
He also was a part of
Now I help in returni
That is why I have ret

I sadly look around – every
in the tired wrinkled faces of the elders,
in the voices of crying babies
in every empty beer can, every windblown piece of trash
on every burnt piece of ground, every half-alive burnt tree
flare chutes still hanging in the branches

In loneliness I remember the feeling of freedom
sadly looking around, I stand upon this hill,
One year, seven months, and four days after,
I stand in the town of
Wounded Knee.

– Jimmy Knoxsah

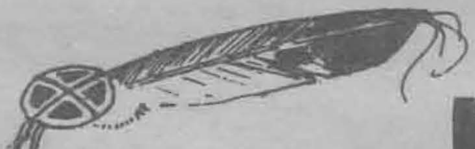
Pauline K. Pershing 5/3
1741 Peachtree Lane
Norristown, Pennsylvania 19401



Warrior

I met a warrior today
(although I should have known anyway)
in a most unusual place.
My great grandfather would have called him a dog soldier.
I call him a friend.
– they call him a convict.
They dragged him from his cell –
outnumbered he stood with quiet dignity
as the cavalry (he must have called them that)
handcuffed him,
because they were afraid,
(all ten of them)
and beat him until the blood pooled,
dripping off the tier.
The only sound I heard him make,
was the sound spite makes
through broken teeth.
When he passed out, they dragged him away.

– Scott R. Cade 87218
Oklahoma State Penitentiary
POBox 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501



Exhibit

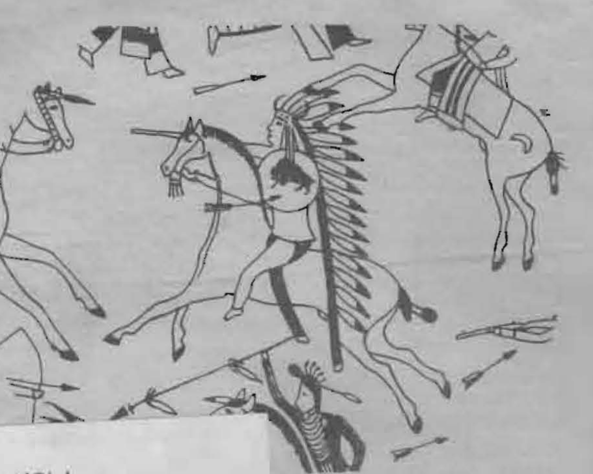
behind dusty glass
a dimly lit grave
unburied – and transplanted
here

guided tours of school children
file through the open doors
touch the glass
finger the bones
the unsmiling skull

knees bent up
just like a child
stolen from its mother's
womb

alone without prayers
alone without warmth
Indian child
forfeits the Earth
for a cold glass tomb.

– L.M. Jendrzejczyk



N KILLER

for our lives
– they fought for their paychecks")

From grandfather to grandson
my grandson, generation to generation
has this braveheart story been told
Takoja, take this as part of your education

It has always been the Lakota way
to welcome strangers with courtesy
with generosity and hospitality
When first we met the Wasichu
our women prepared a big feast
but the paleskins, though starving
refused to eat the sacred dog meat
They also showed a lack of manners
by spitting and by constantly staring
(not knowing it is impolite to stare)
Later they even started stealing!
and when we protested the thefts
they accused us of not sharing
until finally we had no choice left
but to defend what was ours

In the first big fight
between Lakotas and whites
the Akichita rode proud
with their horsewhips, shields,
their coupsticks and warlances
Sweating to give death many chances
and not knowing war could be fun
the soldiers used pistols and guns
Many dropped to the ground
others hid behind bushes and rocks
Some even shot their horses for shelter
We all laughed at their cowardice
Yells Eagle, an elder, chuckled and said,
"To fight such cowards as these
would be an insult to our honor."

Before our grandfathers understood
the warfare tactics of the Long Knives
Many good warriors lost their lives
Men with children and wives
The remaining warriors, greatly angered
at the losing of so many relatives
vowed to wipe out all the soldiers
who knew only one way of war –
to kill and kill and kill
and who, unlike our ancestors
did not fight for honor or bravery
or to defend homes and families
but for the pay-money and whiskey
Suddenly a young warrior
of quiet jokes and serious ways
who was barely into manhood
charged alone against the Tokas –
(Growling the deep-throat sound
the bear makes before he kills)
Having lost an uncle and a brother
he had resolved himself to death
Into the midst of his enemies
he galloped, shooting three
with an old Army pistol
then turned and charged again
killing two soldiers with arrows
striming a Crow scout with his bow
Maidens and small children cheered
from atop a distant hill
the women gave strongheart trills
for this brave one the soldiers feared
This young brave, who was later
given the name "Whiteman Killer"
hotly encouraged his fellow warriors
Who soon avenged their dead brotherss
Killing every squaw-killer
except those who killed themselves

It was a strange, unhonorable
way of warfare to the Lakota
to whom the bravest act in war
was striking an enemy unarmed
then riding away unharmed
instead of killing from a distance
I, Pretty Voice Hawk, have said this!

– Chaske Pretty Voice Hawk